The Slavic Dossier

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The Slavic Dossier

Medieval Archaeology in the Soviet Republic of Moldova: Between State Propaganda and Scholarly Endeavor

By

Iurie Stamati

Translated by

Ruxandra Iuliana Petrinca

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Cover illustration: From left to right, Moldovan archaeologist Ion Hîncu and the Moscow's archaeologist Georgiĭ Fedorov on the archaeological site of Alcedar in 1950s. The photo comes from the personal archive of Prof. Gheorghe Postică.

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To my parents,
Maria and Nicolae Stamati

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archaeologists Ion Hîncu (1931–2003), Gheorghe Cebotarenco (1927–2014), and Nicolae Chetraru (1931–2011) who were part of the first generation of Moldovan archaeologists also shared their memories. We would also like to express our gratitude to the anonymous reviewer for his remarks and extremely relevant recommendations he made after reading the manuscript of this book. Lastly, I would also like to thank Ruxandra Petrinca, an historian specialized on communist and post-communist period, who translated this book from French into English.

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Abbreviations

AAȘRM	Arhiva Academiei de Științe din Republica Moldova.
CAIPC	Centrul de arheologie a Institutului patrimoniului cultural, Academia de Științe din Republica Moldova.

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Annotations and Transliteration

This book contains names and titles of Romanian and Russian publications. The Romanian names in Latin characters are reproduced here in original, with the diacritics (*Ă/ă, Î/î, Ş/ş, Ţ/ţ, Â/â*). For Russian names in Cyrillic characters, the transliteration follows the standards used by the Library of Congress system, except for names that have an already consecrated orthography in English such as Leo Klejn (instead of Lev Kleĭn) or Victor Shnirelman (instead of Viktor Shnirel'man). The names of Moldovan archaeologists who activated in the Soviet era and who identify themselves as ethnic Romanian or Moldovan are transliterated in the text according to the Romanian orthography in force in the Republic of Moldova since 1989. However, since their works published during the Soviet period were written in Russian, their names in the references and in the bibliographic list were transliterated in two ways, once in parenthesis, according to Romanian orthography, and a second time according to the standards of the Library of Congress system (e.g. Hîncu = [Hîncu] Khynku, Bîrnea = [Bîrnea] Byrnia, Cebotarenco = [Cebotarenco] Chebotarenko, Chetraru = [Chetraru] Ketraru). We use the same transliteration for Romanian/Moldovan publications in Cyrillic characters used in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldova until 1989.

The transliteration according to the Library of Congress System

Cyrillic Character	Latin Alphabet
А /а	A /a
Б /б	B /b
В /в	V /v
Г /г	G /g
Д /д	D /d
Е /е	E /e
Ё /ё	Ë /ë
Ж /ж	Zh /zh
З /з	Z /z
И /и	I /i
Й /й	Ĭ /ĭ
К /к	K /k
Л /л	L /l

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The transliteration according to the Library of Congress System (*cont.*)

Cyrillic Character	Latin Alphabet
М /м	M /m
Н /н	N /n
О /о	O /o
П /п	P /p
Р /р	R /r
С /с	S /s
Т /т	T /t
У /у	U /u
Ф /ф	F /f
Х /х	Kh /kh
Ц /ц	Ts /ts
Ч /ч	Ch /ch
Ш /ш	Sh /sh
Щ /щ	Shch /shch
Ъ /ъ	/”
Ы /ы	Y /y
Ь /ь	’ /’
Э /э	Ė /ė
Ю /ю	Iu /iu
Я /я	Ia /ia

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Introduction

The place of the ancient Slavs in the history of the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic (acronym: MSSR), and their role in the genesis of Moldovans and their culture are subjects that have been central to the historiography of that Soviet republic. Politicians, propagandists, historians, linguists, anthropologists, ethnologists, and archaeologists have examined these topics at length. The views of the archaeologists began to be heard in the mid-1940s, and more loudly especially since the early 1950s. Although archaeologists had before their eyes the same "documents" (artefacts), they did not "read" them in the same way, which resulted in the appearance of two archaeological discourses on Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages on the territory of the MSSR.

The first discourse which dominated the historiographical field of Soviet Moldova began immediately after the Second World War, but crystallized in the early 1950s. Its main architect was the Moscow archaeologist Georgiĭ Fedorov. Over time, both views evolved. Some of their components changed, at times considerably.[1] Between 1960 and 1980, the first discourse matured. Its main defenders maintained that from the sixth or the fifth century and up to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, the territory of Soviet Moldova was inhabited mainly by Slavs, who had arrived in several waves and therefore had different names. Their appearance in the region brought economic, cultural, and political stability. The Slavs also participated in the genesis of the Moldovan ethnic group and its culture. The Slavs coexisted with the Vlachs, an essentially neo-Latin population which originated in Transylvania and the Balkans, and penetrated the territory of the future MSSR in the thirteenth or the fourteenth century. The Moldovan ethnic group resulted from the cohabitation of the two ethnic groups.

The second discourse appeared in the late 1950s and was supported almost exclusively by one archaeologist, Ion Hîncu. He agreed that the Slavs participated in the genesis of the Moldovans and their culture, but unlike his opponents, he tried to give credit to the idea that the Slavs did not constitute the main inhabitants of the territory of the MSSR between the fifth and sixth centuries up to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. According to him, ever since their arrival, the Slavs coexisted with other ethnic groups, among which the Vlachs were the most important. According to Hîncu, the MSSR was part of

1 This will be the case, for example, with the dating of the arrival of the Slavs on the territory of the MSSR. We will dwell on this subject in the second and third chapters of this book.

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the ancestral territories of that ethnic group. The Vlachs did not come to tats territory; they were the native population.

Since the late 1980s, several authors explained in their own way the appearance of those two discourses. For some, the first discours was the result of an accumulation of facts in the context of an objective archaeological study.[2] For others, it came from the pan-Slavist ideology used to justify the presence of the MSSR within the Soviet borders. As such, it was a case of political instrumentalization of the archaeological data. According to those who supported that point of view, the end result was a mere falsification of the "Moldovan archaeological reality."[3] Regarding the second discourse, some authors suggested that it was the result of a new political directive issued at the higher levels of the Party,[4] while others presented it as the desire of the one who promoted it, Ion Hîncu, to establish the truth about the ancient history of the MSSR.[5] In an article published in the early 2000s, I have tried to explain the appearance of the first discourse.[6] Basically, without speaking in terms of falsification of the "Moldovan archaeological reality," I have followed the authors who perceived that discourse as a means to legitimize the presence of the MSSR within the Soviet Union. However, I have also suggested that the political instrumentalization of

2 Nikolaĭ P. Tel'nov, "Nekotorye itogi i zadachi izucheniia slavianskoĭ kul'tury VI–IX vv. na territorii Moldavii," *Arkheologicheskie issledovaniia v Moldavii* 1983g. (1988): 8–19; Nikolaĭ P. Tel'nov, "Vostochnoslavianskie drevnosti Dnestrovsko-Prutskogo mezhdurech'ia VIII–X vv.," *Stratum plus* 5 (1999): 313–327; Nikolaĭ P. Tel'nov, "Vostochnoslavianskie drevnosti VIII–X vv. Dnestrovsko-Prutskogo mezhdurech'ia," *Stratum plus* 5 (2001–2002): 144–155.

3 Dragomir Dumbrăveanu, "Controverse istoriografice în interpretarea culturii Dridu," in *Demistificarea sau remistificarea istoriei. Materialele Dezbaterilor Naționale 26–28 aprilie 1999*, ed., Sergiu Musteață and Vitalie Siminica (Kishinev: Pontos, 2000), 34–38; Gheorghe Postică, "Civilizația medievală timpurie din spațiul pruto-nistrean pe calea demistificării și remistificării," in *Demistificarea sau remistificarea istoriei. Materialele Dezbaterilor Naționale 26–28 aprilie 1999*, ed., Sergiu Musteață and Vitalie Siminica (Kishinev: Pontos, 2000), 18–23. Ion Hîncu and Gheorghe Postică, "Despre greșeli evidente și falsificări intenționate din istoria veche a Moldovei," in *Pagini de istorie. Culegere de referiri istoriografice*, ed., V. Manole (Kishinev: Universitas, 1991), 3–17; Ion Țurcanu, *Istoricitatea istoriografiei. Observații asupra scrisului istoric basarabean* (Kishinev: Editura Arc, 2004), 65–66 and 69.

4 Lazar' Polevoĭ, "Kuda zavel nenauchnyi spor?" *Molodezh' Moldavii*, May 16, 1989.

5 Dumbrăveanu, "Controverse istoriografice," 34–38; Postică, "Civilizația medievală timpurie din spațiul pruto-nistrean pe calea," 18–23. Gheorghe Postică, ed., *Ion Hâncu. Bibliografie la 70 ani* (Kishinev: ULIM, 2002), 6–10; Gheorghe Postică, "Periplul unei monografii interzise," in *Scara vieței* by Ion Hîncu, ed., Gheorghe Postică (Kishinev: Cartdidact, 2016), 66–74; Țurcanu, *Istoricitatea*, 65–66 and 69.

6 I have mentioned the existence of the second discourse, without explaining the reasons for its appearance. Iurie Stamati, "Cercetarea istorico-arheologică cu privire la secolele V/VI–VII P.Chr. în Republica Moldova, între anii 1950–1990," *Ephemeris Napocensis* 12 (2002): 183–202.

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archaeological data was not the only factor that influenced that discourse. The theoretical approach that guided Soviet archaeologists at the time was also at fault.

It must be emphasized that not all the opinions quoted above, including my own article, were the result of extensive or exhaustive studies of the Soviet archaeological literature.[7] In his monograph, *The Ethno-Cultural Processes of the Carpathian-Dniestrian Space from the Second to the Fourteenth Centuries. Soviet Historiography*, published in 2009, the Moldovan archaeologist Sergiu Matveev has attempted to fill in that gap. Like several authors before him, he deplored the fact that the interpretations of Soviet archaeologists, particularly their insistence on the presence of the Slavic tribes on the territory of the MSSR, "are not due to an objective evolution of research, but to ideological circumstances."[8] According to Matveev, to a large extent, these interpretations were determined by the need to argue the presence of the MSSR between Soviet borders. Matveev mentions Ion Hîncu's position and shows, with good reason, that it has been influenced by the Romanian archaeological literature.[9] Matveev refrains from explaining the reasons that led Hîncu to propose his view of history for the Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. The literature to which Matveev refers to in his book is impressive. However, in my opinion, his conclusions could have been more nuanced and comprehensive had he considered the study of the archives. It must also be emphasized that his work is, in general, more descriptive than analytical.

In this book, I propose an analysis that is intended to be much more thorough than any of those mentioned above, and my focus is on the *origin* of the two discourses. My analysis is inspired by remarks made by such authors as Leo Klejn, Pierre Bourdieu, Bruce Trigger, and Marc-Antoine Kaeser. Before presenting their views and my own approach, it is necessary first to provide some historical details about Moldova.

7 My article, for example, focuses on the question of the archaeological study carried out in the years 1950–1990 on the period between the fifth/sixth and the seventh centuries, a chronological segment that in the years 1960–1980 was generally considered as the first step in the settlement of the Slavic tribes in the region of the MSSR. Stamati, "Cercetarea."

8 Sergiu Matveev, *Procesele etno-culturale din spațiul Carpato-Nistrean în secolele II–XIV. Istoriografia sovietică* (Kishinev: Pontos, 2009), 36.

9 Matveev, *Procesele*, 53 and 49.

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1 The Republic of Moldova: Historical Overview

1.1 *From the Principality of Moldavia to Greater Romania*

Between the late fourteenth century and the early nineteenth century, much of the territory of the present-day Republic of Moldova was part of the Principality of Moldavia (Map No. 1), a state that appeared during the fourteenth century in Southeastern Europe between the Carpathians and the Dniester. Situated between the rivers Prut and Dniester, until 1812, this territory had no name of its own. It was simply the eastern part of the Principality of Moldavia. In 1812 the territory in question was annexed by the Russian Empire, and became known as Bessarabia. In 1918, due to chaotic political situation in Russia, and to a national philo-Romanian movement, Bessarabia joined the Kingdom of Romania, a state created in 1859 through the unification of the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia.[10] Other provinces, Transylvania and Bukovina,[11] joined the Kingdom of Romania in 1918 and created a state known at the time as Greater Romania (Map No. 2).[12]

1.2 *From the Moldovan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic to the Republic of Moldova*

Bolshevik Russia became the Soviet Union in 1922. The new country did not recognize Romania's territorial claim to Bessarabia. In the 1920s, that province became the bone of contention between the two states. In order to put pressure on the Romanian government, the Moldovan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (acronym: MASSR) was created in 1924 on the border with Romania, on the basis of a territory taken from the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (Map No. 2). In the Soviet view, the MASSR should have been an export vector for the proletarian revolution into Romania, and even further, into the Balkans. On the other hand, the creation of MASSR was part of a wider policy of the Soviet state that promised national emancipation to all ethnicities in the former Tsarist Empire. In 1940, following the German-Soviet Pact and an ultimatum addressed to the Romanian government, the USSR annexed Bessarabia

10 The philo-Romanian movement was far from encompassing the large masses of the Romanian-speaking population of Bessarabia. This gap was filled by pressure from the Romanian government and army. Irina Livezeanu, *Cultură și naționalism în România Mare, 1918–1930*, trans. V. Russo (București: Humanitas, 1998), 111–156; Charles King, *The Moldovans. Romania, Russia, and the Politics of Culture* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2000), 28–35; Iu. Fruntașu, *O istorie etnopolitică a Basarabiei, 1812–2002* (Kishinev: Cartier, 2002), 66–125.

11 In the Romanian historiographical imaginary, Bukovina is perceived as the nucleus of the Principality of Moldavia. In 1775 it was annexed by Austria. Livezeanu, *Cultură*, 64–110.

12 In 1913, Romania also annexed Southern Dobrudja, a territory that belonged to Bulgaria, and kept it until 1940 when Bulgaria recovered it.

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MAP 1 Principalities of Moldova and Vallachia. Provinces of Bukovina and Bessarabia

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MAP 2 Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic. Romania after 1878. Greater Romania. Romania after Second World War

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and Northern Bukovina.[13] In 1941, Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina returned to Romania again, but not for long. In 1944, the USSR recovered both territories. The northern and southern parts of Bessarabia were attached to the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. The rest was united with part of the old MASSR. Within those geographical limits, the new province was one of the fifteen Soviet republics (Map No. 2) and would be known as the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic (MSSR). Northern Bukovina was annexed to the Ukrainian Soviet Republic.[14] In 1991, with the collapse of the USSR, the MSSR became an independent country, as the Republic of Moldova.[15] Two regions, the first one located in the east and part of the old MASSR until 1940, and the second in the south, inhabited by the Gagauz, a Turkish-speaking population, declared their independence from Moldova. The first region is known as Transnistria or Pridnestrovian Moldovan Republic. Its leaders still campaign for the recognition of their independence. The second region agreed to become part of the Republic of Moldova as an autonomous entity under the name of Gagauz-Yeri or Gagauzia (Map No. 3).[16]

1.3 *Ethnic Configuration*

In addition to the presence of Romanophones on the territory of the Moldavian Principality, written sources dating back to the sixteenth century attest the massive presence of a Slavophone group, known under different names, Ruthenians, Rusyns, or Russians. In the twentieth century, they were perceived as ethnic Ukrainians. They lived mainly in the northern part of the Moldavian Principality. Moldavian cities had a very heterogeneous population, consisting of Romanians, Jews, Armenians, Greeks, Poles, Russians, and Roma (Gypsies). Concerning the ethnic composition of Bessarabia itself, the statistical data only appeared around the middle of the nineteenth century. According to these statistics, Romanian-speakers constituted the majority of the population, between 47.6%. and 67.4%. Following the tsarist state colonization policy, in the first decades of the nineteenth century, particularly in

13 The ultimatum claimed that the majority of Bessarabia's population was comprised of ethnic Ukrainians. This so-called ethnic configuration was used by the Soviets as justification of their request to Romania. As far as Northern Bukovina was concerned, this territory was claimed as reward for the hardships inflicted upon the inhabitants of Bessarabia after 1918. King, *The Moldovans*, 91–92.

14 The part of the former Moldavian Principality that makes up modern Romania—essentially the eastern part of the country lying between the Carpathian Mountains and the Prut River—has also kept its name from Moldova. In this book when we are going to talk about this territory we will use the term "Romanian Moldova," although the practice in (American) English is to call it Moldavia.

15 Northern Bukovina remained part of Ukraine.

16 King, *The Moldovans*, 108–117.

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MAP 3 Moldova after the Fall of the Soviet Union

the southern part of Bessarabia, new communities emerged, namely German, Bulgarian, Russian, and Swiss. According to the census conducted in 1989 by the Soviet administration in MSSR, the Romanian-speaking (Moldovan) group constituted 64.5% of the population. It was followed by Ukrainians (13.8%), Russians (13%), Gagauz (3.5%), Bulgarians (2.0%), Jews (1.5%), Roma/Gypsies (0.3%), and others (1.36).[17]

17 Margareta C. Ștefănescu, "Rusismele-rutenismele din toponimia romînească," *Arhiva: revistă de istorie, filologie și cultură* 31 (1924): 199–206; Margareta C. Ștefănescu, *Elementele Rusești-Rutene din Limba romînească și vechimea lor* (Jassy: Lumina Moldovei, 1924); Wilhelmus Petrus van Meurs, *Chestiunea Basarabiei în istoriografia comunistă*, trans. Ion Stanciu (Kishinev: Editura Arc, 1996), 66–67, 139–149; Livezeanu, *Cultură*, 111–115; King, *The Moldovans*, 23–24 and 53–54, 97; Ovidiu Pecican ed., *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei atribuit lui Grigore Ureche, compilat de Simion Dascălul* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Grinta, 2007), 84–85.

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1.4 *Moldovan Identity*

Although sometimes Russian authors called the Romanian-speaking "Moldovans"[18] from Bessarabia until the early 1920s, they saw them more as part of the Romanian nation. The question of a Moldovan ethnic group or nation distinct from the Romanian nation was only necessary in the context of the construction of the MASSR. Among the signatories of the act that led to the creation of that Republic were two rival groups. The first was generally made up of communists from ancient Bessarabia. These were the most vocal propagators of the idea of a Moldovan ethnic group, different from the Romanian one. It must be pointed out, that the inhabitants of Bessarabia had been absent from the construction of the modern Romanian nation—a process that took place in the nineteenth century in the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. That is why, at the beginning of the twentieth century, some intellectuals from Bessarabia developed a sense of a Moldovan ethnicity. Therefore, it is not surprising that the communists from this province were arguing for a republic for the Moldovan people.

The second group was formed mostly of Romanian communists, usually originating from other provinces, who had immigrated to the USSR because of their political beliefs. According to them, Moldovans were only one part of the Romanian nation. In their eyes, the MASSR was the model to follow for the rest of the Romanian nation. At the beginning of the 1930s, the balance shifted in favor of that group, because the central power was not ready to support the idea of a Moldovan nation. For the leaders in Moscow, who at the time were still guided by the ideal of a proletarian revolution on a world scale, the MASSR was rather a vector to facilitate the export of said revolution to Romania, and even further, into Central Europe, and the Balkans. The idea of an ethnic difference between Moldovans and Romanians could not facilitate the accomplishment of such a project.

In the second half of the 1930s, the situation changed. As the dream of a proletarian world shattered, the threat of Nazism led the USSR to transform from an open country into a "besieged city." Thus, the central power turned to the idea of the existence of a Moldovan ethnic group different from the Romanian nation, by its history, culture, and language, but closely related to the Slavic community of the East and, consequently, to the Soviet homeland. It is in this context that the concept of the Moldovan language different from

18 This name was used for the entire Romanian-speaking population of the former Moldavian principality during the Middle Ages and the modern era. These were also known as Vlachs (an exonym), as were the Romanian-speaking Wallachians and Transylvanians. The term Vlachs was also used for some neo-Latin populations from the Balkans.

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the Romanian language, appeared in the 1920s, and was accepted without reservations at the official level. The Latin alphabet used in RASSM since 1932 was abandoned in favor of the Cyrillic one. In order for Moldovans to have a language completely different from Romanian, apart from the change of the alphabet, regionalisms were emphasized, Russian and Ukrainian words were introduced, and at times, new words were invented in order to promote the idea that the Moldovan language was half or even fully Slavic.

The philo-Moldovan discourse eclipsed the philo-Romanian one, at least in the public space. This situation lasted until the late 1980s when, in the context of Gorbachev's liberalization, a philo-Romanian movement appeared, which advocated, among other things, for reunification with Romania. As for the Moldovan language, after the Second World War, the invention of new words and the introduction of Russian and Ukrainian words was abandoned. Moldovan was considered a neo-Latin language, and looked more and more similar to the standardized Romanian language. At the level of writing, the use of the Cyrillic alphabet remained the only major difference between the two languages, a situation that ended in 1989, when the Latin alphabet was reintroduced to MSSR.[19]

2 Soviet Archaeology—A Simple Ideological Tool? (Theoretical Approach)

The monograph *Archaeology in the USSR*, published in 1954 in Munich, signed by Mikhail Miller, an ex-Soviet archaeologist who had emigrated to Germany in 1943, was one of the earliest works that noted the existence of a close relationship between Soviet archaeology and state politics. In his book, after describing the process of transformation of Russian archaeology into Soviet archaeology by reinstitutionalization and centralization, harassment, and removal of several archaeologists trained during the "capitalist era," as well as by

19 Igor Caşu, *"Politica naţională" în Moldova sovietică (1944–1989)* (Kishinev: Cartdidact, 2000); Gheorghe Negru, *Politica etnolongvistică în R.S.S. Moldovenească* (Kishinev: Prut internaţional, 2000); King, *The Moldovans*, 50–86; Elena Negru, *Politica etnoculturală în RASS Moldovenească, 1924–1940* (Kishinev: Prut Internaţional, 2003), 11–103; Andreas Johansson, *Dissenting Democrats. Nation and Democracy in the Republic of Moldova* (Stockholm: Stockholm University, 2011); Petru Negură, "Edificarea naţională şi culturală în Republica Autonomă Sovietică Socialistă Moldovenească: premisele unui 'naţionalism' eşuat," *Archiva Moldaviae* 4 (2012): 91–102; Iurie Stamati, "Entre l'internationalisme et le patriotisme: les Slaves et l'ethnogenèse des Moldaves dans l'historiographie soviétique des années 1924–1940," *Revue des études slaves* 85/2 (2014): 361–372; Angela Demian, *La nation impossible? Construction nationale en République de Moldova, et au-delà* (Paris: l'Harmattan, 2016).

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the introduction of the Marxist discourse, Miller came to the conclusion that archaeology had become a mere propaganda tool, subject to the will of the Soviet Communist Party. His analysis went until the early 1950s.[20]

After the fall of the USSR, the politicization of Soviet archaeology was noted by several authors. Among them were the St. Petersburg-based archaeologist Leo Klejn, and the Moscow-based anthropologist Victor Shnirelman. Shnirelman's analysis focused primarily on the pre-Stalinist and Stalinist period.[21] Klejn's book, *The Phenomenon of Soviet Archaeology*, went beyond that period.[22] It must be pointed out that the analysis of the relationship between Soviet archaeology and politics was not the main purpose of his book. The book contained reflections on the main stages of the history of the discipline, its most prominent representatives, theoretical approaches, particularly to the question of Marxism and its relationship with political power. The author's intention was to draw a general portrait of Soviet archaeology. Precisely for that reason, Klejn did not dwell at length on the subjects mentioned in his book, and as such, most topics, including the relationship between archaeology and political power, were not analyzed in depth. However, I dwell on this book, because some of Klejn's statements inspired my own research.

Like Miller, Klejn showed that in the Soviet Union archaeology had often been linked to state propaganda, but unlike his predecessor, he did not believe that the discipline was a mere ideological tool. In his book, Klejn noted that Soviet archaeological production also bore the imprint of its producers, the archaeologists. The choice favoring a particular theoretical approach, or the

20 Mikhail A. Miller, *Arkheologiia v SSSR* (Miunkhen: Institut po izucheniiu istorii i kul'tury SSSR, 1954), 138.

21 Viktor A. Shnirelman, "From Internationalism to Nationalism: Forgotten Pages of Soviet Archaeology in the 1930s and 1940s," in *Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology*, ed., Philip L. Khol and Clare Fawcett (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1995), 120–138; Viktor A. Shnirelman, "The faces of nationalist archaeology in Russia," in *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe*, ed., Margarita Diaz-Andreu and Timothy Champion (London: UCL Press Limited, 1996), 218–241. In a more recent article, analyzing the work of Soviet archaeologist Evgeniĭ Krupnov in the North Caucasus region, Shnirelman offered more detailed about the post-Stalinist period. He is also the author of an article dealing with the relationship between politics and archaeology, the emphasis being placed on the post-soviet period. Viktor A. Shnirelman, "Prezidenty i arkheologiia, ili chto ishchut politiki v drevnosti," *Ab Imperio* 1 (2009): 279–323; Viktor A. Shnirelman, "Arkheolog, obshchestvo i politika: Evgeniĭ I. Krupnov i alanskaia problema," in *Antropologiia akademicheskoi zhizni: traditsii i innovatsii*, ed., Galina A. Komarova (Moskow: IEA RAN, 2013), 47–72.

22 Leo S. Klejn, *Fenomen sovetskoĭ arkheologii* (Saint Petersburg: FARN, 1993). This book was translated in 2012 under the title: *Soviet Archaeology, Trends, Schools, and History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

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way of interpreting archaeological material was often determined, according to Klejn, by the personality of the archaeologist, his or her personal history, education, and the experience acquired in family traditions and various social contexts. The generational aspect was also important for understanding Soviet archaeological production. Despite the proverbial centralization of the USSR, and although the Party masters liked to believe that they had total control over historiography, according to Klejn, this was not always the case. He even spoke of a tendency of archaeologists to oppose the official guidelines. According to him, Soviet archaeologists had often benefited from competition between various academic institutions, from the excessive bureaucratization of censorship, and from the lack of vigilance and qualification on the part of the censors, in order to publish potentially ideologically, and undesirable works. The competition between archaeologists was also made possible by the publication of such works.[23]

Several of Klejn's ideas are confirmed by sociological studies on scientific or intellectual communities in Western countries.[24] According to those studies, the scientific field, like other social fields, is not impervious to the influences of socio-political and cultural contexts.[25] The production of the scientific field, knowledge, hypotheses, theories, inventions, or discoveries carries the imprint of the personal profiles or the "habitus" of scientists. According to the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, "habitus" means a set of characteristics acquired

23 Klejn, *Fenomen*, 12–13, 30–31, 76–77, 81–89.

24 Pierre Bourdieu, "La spécificité du champ scientifique et les conditions sociales du progrès de la raison," *Sociologie et sociétés* 7 (1975): 91–118; Pierre Bourdieu, "Le champ scientifique," *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 2/2–3 (1976): 88–104; Pierre Bourdieu, *Les usages sociaux de la science. Pour une sociologie clinique du champ scientifique* (Paris: INRA Editions, 1997); Pierre Bourdieu, *Les règles de l'art. Genèse et structure du champ littéraire* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1998); Pierre Bourdieu, *Science de la science et réflexivité* (Paris: Raison d'agir, 2001); Alan Chalmers, *La fabrication de la science* (Paris: La Découverte, 1991); Michel Dubois, *Introduction à la sociologie des sciences et des connaissances scientifiques* (Paris: PUF, 1999); Benjamin Matalon, *La construction de la science. De l'épistémologie à la sociologie de la connaissance scientifique* (Paris: Delachaux et Niestlé S.A., 1996); Yves Gingras, *Sociologie des sciences* (Paris: PUF, 2013); Martin Olivier, *Sociologie des sciences* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2000); Dominique Vinck, *Sociologie des sciences* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1995); Dominique Vinck, *Sciences et société. Sociologie du travail scientifique* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2007).

25 This does not mean, of course, that the influences of socio-political and cultural contexts are exerted in the same way in so-called democratic countries, as in those with authoritarian systems. In the latter, the reflection of the socio-political context is much more direct and often brutal. Ėduard I. Kolchinskiĭ, ed., *Nauka i krizisy, istoriko-sravnitel'nye ocherki* (Saint Petersburg: Dmitry Bulanin, 2003).

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by an individual, in this case by a scientist, throughout his or her personal history that determines his or her way of thinking and acting.[26]

Another one of Klejn's ideas, also confirmed by sociological studies, was that of the existence of competition between researchers. However, according to those studies, the scientific field is not constituted by altruistic individuals. On the contrary, it is animated by competition between those who belong to it and strive for a more visible place within the field and even outside of it. It is often that competition that determines the position of scientists. According to Bourdieu, the scientific field is the place "of a competing struggle whose specific issue is the monopoly of the scientific authority, defined as technical capacity and social power, or, if we prefer, the monopoly of scientific competence, understood in the sense of the ability to speak and act legitimately (that is to say, in an authorized and authoritative manner) in the field of science."[27] In the context of that struggle, those who hold the monopoly employ strategies to preserve it, while those who aspire to hold it employ strategies to obtain it. That is why, according to Bourdieu "we do not really understand what an agent or agent does in a field [...] unless we are able to refer to the position he occupies in this field," if we know "from where he speaks."[28]

The existence of a link between archaeology and the political or ideological context has been observed by looking at archaeology in other countries as well. Ironically, Soviet archaeologists and ideologues were the first to draw attention, starting with the early 1930s, to the existence of such a link. In their attempts to build a Marxist archaeology, Soviet writers had stubbornly criticized bourgeois American, English, Japanese, German, and Russian archaeology, from the pre-Revolutionary period, blaming them for their submission to the ideology of the "exploiting class." Diffusionism and migrationism, two approaches used by "capitalist archaeologists," were blamed for imperialist or racist ideology.[29] After the Second World War, the beginning of the Cold War

26 Bourdieu, *Science*, 86–87.

27 Bourdieu, "La spécificité," 91–92.

28 Bourdieu, *Les usages*, 17.

29 Sergeĭ N. Bykovskiĭ, "Klassovaia sushchnost' burzhuaznoi arkheologii"—Introduction to *Dorevoliutsionnaia russkaia arkheologiia na sluzhbe ekspluatatorskikh klassov*, by Mikhail G. Khudiakov (Leningrad: GAIMK, 1933), 3–22; Sergeĭ N. Bykovskiĭ, "O klassovykh korniakh staroi arkheologii," in *Antalogiia sovetskoĭ arkheologii (1917–1933)*. T. 1, ed., Valeriĭ I. Guliaev and al. (Moscow: Institut arkheologii RAN. Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskiĭ muzei, 1995), 132–134; Miller, *Arkheologiia*, 67–69; Vladislav I. Ravdonikas, "Za marksistskuiu istoriiu material'noĭ kul'tury," in *Antalogiia sovetskoĭ arkheologii (1917–1933)*. T. 1, ed., Valeriĭ I. Guliaev and al. (Moscow: Institut arkheologii RAN/Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskiĭ muzei, 1995), 123–131; Mikhail G. Khudiakov, *Dorevoliutsionnaia russkaia arkheologiia na sluzhbe ekspluatatorskikh klassov* (Leningrad: GAIMK, 1933).

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and the ideological struggle against "bowing in front of the West," the criticism against capitalist archaeology was reinvigorated.[30]

Since the beginning of the 1990s the archaeologists' interest in the relation between their profession and the political or ideological conjuncture reached far beyond Soviet and even European borders, in Guatemala, Peru, United States, Israel, India, Korea. Several studies devoted to this problem insisted that the professionalization of the archaeological discipline was due in large part to nationalism, an ideology that invaded the minds of intellectuals and politicians from almost all over the world in the nineteenth century. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the builders of the national states needed archaeology to justify their political project. In exchange for services rendered, such as the justification of national borders, archaeology benefited from the help of the national state, patronage of scientific societies and archaeological congresses, the issuance of laws which framed the study and protection of archaeological sites.[31]

30 Aleksandr L. Mongajt, "Amerikanskaia arkheologiia na sluzhbe imperializma," *Voprosy istorii* 5 (1949): 97–104; Aleksandr L. Mongajt, "Krizis burzhuaznoi arkheologii," *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta istorii material'noĭ kul'tury* 40 (1951): 3–15.

31 Here is a list of studies, which far from being complete highlights the cases of archaeology from different parts of the world: Kamyar Abdi, "Nationalism, politics, and the development of archaeology in Iran," *American Journal of Archaeology* 105 (2001): 51–76; Nadia Abu el-Haj, "Translating truths: Nationalism, the practice of archaeology, and the remarking of past and present in contemporary Jerusalem," *American Ethnologist* 25 (1998): 166–188; Bettina Arnold, "The past as propaganda: Totalitarian archaeology in Nazi Germany," *Antiquity* 64 (1990): 464–478; John A. Atkinson and al., ed., *Nationalism and archaeology* (Glasgow: Cruithne press, 1996); Oswaldo Ch. Mazariegos, "Archaeology and nationalism in Guatemala at the time of independence," *Antiquity* 72 (1998): 376–386; Robin Coningham and Nick Lewer, "Archaeology and identity in south Asia-interpretations and consequences," *Antiquity* 74 (2000): 664–667; Robin Coningham and Nick Lewer, "The Viiayan colonization and the archaeology of identity in Sri Lanka," *Antiquity* 74 (2000): 707–712; Jean-Paul Demoule, "Ethnicity, culture and identity: French archaeologists and historians," *Antiquity* 73 (1999): 190–198; Margarita Diaz-Andreu and Timothy Champion, ed., *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe* (London: UCL Press, 1996); Mikhael Dietler, "'Our ancestors the Gauls': Archaeology, ethnic nationalism, and the manipulation of Celtic identity in modern Europe," *American Anthropologist* 96 (1994): 584–605; Peter van Dommelen, "Colonial constructs: colonialism and archaeology in the Mediterranean," *Conventions* 2 (1997): 305–323; Don D. Fowler, "Uses of the past: Archaeology in the service of the state," *American Antiquity* 52 (1987): 229–248; Alvaro Higueras, "Archaeological research in Peru: Its contribution to national identity and to the Peruvian public," *Journal of the Steward Anthropological Society* 23 (1995): 391–407; Justin Hyland, "Archaeological meditations of the Conquest and constructions of Mexican national identity," *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers* 73/4 (1992): 92–114; Susan Kane, ed., *The Politics of Archaeology and Identity in a Global Context* (Boston: Archaeological Institute of America, 2003); Philip L. Kohl and Clare Fawcett, ed., *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of*

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Some archaeologists, like Bruce G. Trigger, also noted that the discourse or archaeological knowledge in general with its theories, hypotheses, and interpretations of archaeological material was not due solely to the relationship of the discipline and its representatives with the state or with nationalist ideology, or any other ideology. According to Trigger, the archaeological understanding of the past is influenced, in addition to the ideological or political context, by the economic situation, the methods or techniques that archaeologists have at their disposal for the recovery, analysis, and interpretation of artefacts, in other words, by the state of the discipline. The prejudices of archaeologists, as well as their personalities also contribute, according to Trigger, to the shaping of their discourse.[32] One can therefore see similarities between Klejn and Trigger's positions.

Klejn, Bourdieu, and Trigger's remarks were validated by the Swiss archaeologist Marc-Antoine Kaeser whose works draw inspiration from the sociology of sciences. According to him, a better understanding of the production of archaeological knowledge must pass, among other things, through the analysis

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Archaeology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Nayanjot Lahiri, "Archaeology and identity in colonial India," *Antiquity* 74 (2000): 687–692; Lynn M. Meskell, ed., *Archaeology Under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East* (London: Routledge, 1998); Lynn M. Meskell, "The intersection of identity and politics in archaeology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31 (2002): 279–301; Hyung Il Pai, *Constructing "Korean" Origins: A Critical Review of Archaeology, Historiography, and Racial Myth in Korean State-Formation Theories* (Cambridge: MA: Harvard University Asia Center/ Harvard University Press, 2000); Robert W. Preucel, ed., *Archaeology of the Pueblo Revolt: Identity, Meaning and Renewal in the Pueblo World* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002); Russell Ó. Ríagáin and Cătălin N. Popa, ed., *Archaeology and the (De)Construction of National and Supra-National Polities.* Archaeological Review of Cambridge 27 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Sandra A. Scham, "Mediating nationalism and archaeology: A matter of trust?," *American Anthropologist* 100 (1998): 301–308; Matthew Spriggs, "Facing the nation: Hawaiians and archaeologists in an era of sovereignty," *The Contemporary Pacific* 3 (1991): 379–392; Viktor A. Shnirelman, "Arkheologiia i obshchestvo-problemnye vzaimonootnosheniia. Vvedenie k diskussii," *Ėtnograficheskoe obozrenie* 1 (2013): 3–8; Viktor A. Shnirelman, "Natsionalizm i arkheologiia," *Ėtnograficheskoe obozrenie* 1 (2013): 9–25; Tuğba Tanyeri-Erdemir, "Archaeology as a Source of National Pride in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 31/4 (2006): 381–393; Michael Wood, "The use of the Pharaonic past in modern Egyptian nationalism," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 36 (1998): 179–196; Ludomir R. Lozny, ed., *Archaeology of the Communist Era. A Political History of Archaeology of the 20th Century* (New York: Springer, 2017).

32 Bruce G. Trigger, "Romanticism, nationalism, and archaeology," in *Nationalism, politics, and the practice of archaeology*, ed., Philip L. Khol and Clare Fawcett (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1995), 265–266.

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of "relations" and "interactions" between archaeologists and their "political affiliation."[33]

3 Methodology and Sources

In this book, following the path drawn by authors such as Klejn, Bourdieu, Trigger, or Kaeser I will examine the socio-political and cultural contexts within which the two archaeological discourses emerged. I will explore the history of Moldovan archaeology, the personal profiles, "habitus," of archaeologists, their training, theoretical, and ideological attachment, their place in the Moldovan archaeological field, their relations and interactions inside and outside the field. I will therefore examine all the elements that make an archaeologist's statements not mere "research level" results, but historical constructions that can be reconfigured, reformulated or even abandoned.

Three types of primary sources are used in this book: published texts, archival documents, and oral testimonies. The first type of sources includes articles and monographs written by archaeologists, whether for specialists or the general public, acts of constitution and activity reports of institutions with an archaeological profile, including the reports of the Committee in charge with the study of the "origin of the Moldovan people and Slavo-Vlach relations," created in 1970 as part of the MSSR's Academy of Sciences.[34] I also had at my disposal

33 Marc-Antoine Kaeser, "Nationalisme et archéologie: quelle histoire?," *Revue d'Histoire des Sciences Humaines* 2 (2000): 155–162; Marc-Antoine Kaeser, "L'archéologie, les représentations collectives et la construction identitaire face aux contraintes matérielles," *Les nouvelles de l'archéologie* 90 (2002): 12–16.

34 [Ioan Halippa] Ioan Khalippa, "Ideia gubernskikh uchenykh arkhivnykh kommissii po N.V. Kolachovu, I.E. Andreevskomu i A.N. Truvorovu i uchrezhdenie komisii v g. Kishineve," *Trudy Bessarabskoi gubernskoi uchenoi arkhivnoi komissii* 1 (1900): 1–26; [Ioan Halippa] Ioan Khalippa, "Otchet o deiatel'nosti Bessarabskoi Uchenoi Arkhivnoi Komissii s 23 Avgusta 1898 goda po konets 1899 goda," *Trudy Bessarabskoi gubernskoi uchenoi arkhivnoi komissii* 1 (1900): 407–420; [Ioan Halippa] Ioan Khalippa, "Otchet o deiatel'nosti Bessarabskoi Uchenoi Arkhivnoi Komissii za 1900–1901 gody," *Trudy Bessarabskoi gubernskoi uchenoi arkhivnoi komissii* 2 (1902): 451–455; [Ioan Halippa] Ioan Khalippa, "Protokoly zasedanii Bessarabskoi Gubernskoi Uchenoi Arkhivnoi Komissii (s 12-go ianvaria 1902 goda po konets 1903 goda)," *Trudy Bessarabskoi gubernskoi uchenoi arkhivnoi komissii* 3 (1908): 509–528; Nikolaĭ A. Mokhov and al., "Itogi i perspecktivy raboty nauchnogo soveta po probleme "slaviano-voloshskie sviazi i proiskhozhdenie moldavskoĭ narodnosti," in *Slaviano-voloshskie sviazi*, ed. Nikolaĭ A. Mokhov and al. (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1978), 3–18; Mikhail Muntian, "Istoki formirovaniia moldavskoĭ narodnosti," *Kommunist Moldavii* 3 (1979): 94–96; Georgiĭ I. Spataru, "O VIII sessii nauchnogo soveta « Proiskhozhdenie moldavskogo naroda i slaviano-moldavskie sviazi »," *Buletinul Akademiei de Shtiintse a RSS*

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Ion Hîncu's memoirs, as well as the memoirs and literary works of Georgiĭ Fedorov (for the latter was also a writer), as well as published testimonies of the people who knew them.[35]

The second type of sources includes transcripts of scientific meetings, reports and activity plans, letters, and the personal files of archaeologists. Most of those documents may be found in the Archives of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Moldova. Only two documents come from the Archaeology Center of the Institute of Cultural Heritage of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Moldova, the personal file of the archaeologist Pavel Bîrnea, and the stenograph of the meeting of the Section of Social Sciences of the Sciences Academy of the MSSR of May 29, 1984.[36] I have also used information from the personal archive of archaeologist Nicolae Chetraru, the main historian of Moldovan archaeology. It should be noted that all the archival documents used in this book are unpublished.[37]

As for the third type of sources, these are discussions and oral history interviews with Moldovan archaeologists and historians, including Gheorghe Postică, Nicolae Chetraru, Gheorghe Cebotarenco, Roman Rabinovich, Mark Tkachuk, Valentin Dergacev, Boris Vizer, and Demir Dragnev. I have also benefited from the testimonies of the Romanian archaeologists Victor Spinei,

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Moldoveneshti (*Seriia Obshchestvennykh nauk*) 1 (1979): 78–83; Valentin S. Zelenchuk and Tat'iana D. Zlatkovskaia, "O rabote nauchnogo soveta po probleme «Slaviano-Voloshskie sviazi i formirovanie moldavskoĭ narodnosti»," *Sovetskaia ėtnografiia* 2 (1978): 123–130.

35 Ion Hîncu, *Scara vieței*, ed., Gheorghe Postică (Kishinev: Cartdidact, 2016); Georgiĭ B. Fedorov, *Dnevnaia poverkhnost'* (Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1966); Georgiĭ B. Fedorov, *Dnevnaia poverkhnost'* (Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1977); Georgiĭ B. Fedorov, *Bosmannaia bol'nitsa. Povest'* (Moscow: Moskovskiĭ rabochiĭ, 1989); Georgiĭ B. Fedorov, *Bruschatka. Dokumental'nye povesti i rasskazy* (Moscow: LIBR, 1997); Georgiĭ Fedorov and M. Fedorova, *Ignach krest. Istoricheskiĭ roman* (Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1991); Il'ia Gabaĭ, *Stikhi, Publitsistika, pis'ma, vospominaniia* (Jerusalem: Prisma Press, 1990); Iuliĭ Kim, "Dorogoi nash GėBė," in *Bruschatka. Dokumental'nye povesti i rasskazy* by Georgiĭ Fedorov (Moscow, Libr, 1997), 6–7; Nahum Korzhavin, *V soblaznakh krovavoĭ epokhi*. T. 1 (Moscow: Zaharov, 2006); Aleksandr Nekrich, *Otreshis' ot strakha. Vospominaniia istorika* (London: Overseas publications interchange LTD, 1979); Natalia Rapoport, *To li byl, to li nebyl'* (Saint Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo Pushkinskogo fonda, 1998); Marianna Roshal'-Stroeva, "Posleslovie," in *Bruschatka. Dokumental'nye povesti i rasskazy* by Georgiĭ Fedorov (Moscow: LIBR, 1997), 296–298; Marianna Roshal'-Stroeva, "KGB i arkheologiia. Vospominaniia arkheologa i pisatelia Georgiia Fedorova," (2011). Available at https://www.proza.ru/2011/05/12/891 (visit of July 5, 2018).

36 *Dosarul personal al doctorului habilitat Bârnea Pavel.* Fond 24, Opis' 3, Nr. 93 (CAIPC); *Protokol №. 10 rasshirennogo zasedaniia Biuro Otdeleniia obshchestvennykh nauk Akademii nauk Moldavskoĭ SSR ot 29 maia 1984 g. § 59.* (CAIPC).

37 All archival records used are included in the list at the end of this book.

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Dan Gh. Teodor, Mircea Babeș, and Nicolae Constantinescu on the relations between Soviet and Romanian archaeologists.

It should be emphasized that published texts and archival documents were the most used. The published texts are very important sources, but their confrontation with the archival documents remains obligatory. In texts published during the Soviet era, one often finds affirmations that reflect the official point of view, approved by censorship, while the archives contain generally uncensored texts intended for internal use, which often offer information contradicting the claims found in the published texts. As for oral sources, they are generally used to support the findings that are needed after the analysis of published texts and archival documents. The citation of some of these testimonies also has the role of adding color to the narrative.

To reconstruct the context or socio-political and cultural contexts of the MSSR, and better understand the features of the national question in this former Soviet republic, I have used the analyzes of political scientists, sociologists, and historians.[38]

4 The Tool Box of Nationalist Ideology

One of the key terms in this book is ethnogenesis. In what follows, I will briefly outline my view regarding this term. In my opinion, it is part of the "toolbox" of nationalist ideology that has been invading, especially since the nineteenth century, intellectual circles in Europe.[39] In such a perspective, the birth of an ethnic group or nation is not due to the mixing or evolution of certain tribes or ancient and medieval peoples, but to the work of the intellectuals and politicians of the modern age. This point of view coincides with that of the French historian Anne-Marie Thiesse, according to which the origins of the nations,

38 Caşu, "*Politica națională*"; Igor Caşu, "Nicolae Testemițeanu a fost destituit pentru naționalism (I)," *Adevărul*, December 1, 2011; Igor Caşu, "Nicolae Testemițeanu a fost destituit pentru naționalism (II)," *Adevărul*, December 15, 2011; Igor Caşu, "Conștiința națională românească la Politehnica din Chișinău (I)," *Adevărul*, December 13, 2012; Igor Caşu, "Conștiința națională românească la Politehnica din Chișinău (II)," *Adevărul*, December 27, 2012; Igor Caşu, "Leonid Cemortan, în 1967: 'Rusificarea moldovenilor începe de la grădiniță'," *Adevărul*, August 22, 2013; Caşu, Igor. "Șovinismul velicorus în RSSM." *Adevărul*, November 29, 2013; King, *The Moldovans*; Demian, *La nation*.

39 Iurie Stamati, "Pourquoi les Roumains ne sont-ils pas devenus un peuple slave ? Essai sur la place des Slaves médiévaux dans l'historiographie nationale roumaine (XVII^{e} siècle–début du XX^{e} siècle)," *Ethnologies* 37–2 (2017): 53–54.

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of those "imagined communities"[40] "are not lost in the mists of time, in those obscure and heroic ages that describe the first chapters of the national stories. […] The true birth of a nation is the moment when a handful of individuals declare that it exists and undertake to prove it."[41]

The American historian Patrick J. Geary goes in the same direction. In his book, *The Myth of Nations*, Geary shows that the names of the medieval or ancient peoples hide most often groups that are very heterogeneous from a linguistic, cultural, or religious point of view.[42] These groups are not permanent. They appear, and then disappear. Often, new groups coagulate around a warrior chief taking names that had previously been used by other groups. These groups were not, therefore, formed for eternity. In the course of time they did not keep a set of common, ethnic traits that differentiated one group from another, thus perpetuate themselves from Antiquity and the Middle Ages until the present day, and being known today as Romanians, Russians, English, Italians, Germans, Bulgarians, etc. The Middle Ages or the Antiquity cannot, in any way, be seen as the time of birth or the ethnogenesis of the modern nations. Shortly before Geary, another American historian, Florin Curta, looking at the specific case of the Slavic tribes attested in the sixth century north of the Lower Danube, showed that the name of the Slavs is an umbrella that hid a population that was very heterogeneous from a cultural or linguistic point of view.[43]

5 Structure of the Book

This book has three chapters. In the first one I will discuss the first archaeological studies carried out in Bessarabia. I will review the main institutions that expressed interest in the archaeological remains of this province, as well as the most important protagonists who identified and studied these remains. I will analyze the Tsarist period, as well as the time when Bessarabia was part of Greater Romania. I will also look at the state of the archaeological study in MASSR. The question of the birth of Moldovan archaeology proper, its main

40 Benedict Anderson, *L'imaginaire national. Réfléxions sur l'origine et l'essor du nationalisme* (Paris: La Découvert, 2002).

41 Anne-Marie Thiesse, *La création des identités nationales, Europe XVIII^e–XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2001), 11.

42 Patrick G. Geary, *The Myth of Nations. The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002).

43 Florin Curta, *Apariția slavilor, Istorie și arheologie la Dunărea de Jos în veacurile VI–VII* trans. Eugen S. Teodor (Târgoviște: Editura Cetatea de Scaun, 2001).

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characteristics, and its theoretical and methodological framework will also be at the heart of our study. I will conclude this chapter with an analysis of the beginning of the archaeological study of the Slavic problematic in the MSSR.

In the second chapter, I will analyze the activity of the Moscow archaeologist Georgiĭ Fedorov, the main protagonist of the first discourse. I will identify his intellectual and scientific profile and try to explain his chose to get involved into the archaeological study of the Slavic problematic. I will also see how he managed to link his professional career to the MSSR. I will become acquainted with his Moldovan students who composed the first generation of medieval archaeologists of the MSSR and draw a portrait of the relationship between them and their former professor. I will conclude the chapter with an analysis of Fedorov's opinions on the main subjects which constitute the problematic of the Slavic archaeology of this Soviet republic.

The third chapter is devoted to the second discourse and to its protagonist, Ion Hîncu. As I have already noted, Hîncu's point of view was influenced by Romanian archaeological literature. That is why I will begin this chapter with an overview of Romanian archaeology from the Second World War onwards, and the opinions of the archaeologists in that country on the Slavic problem. I will also focus on the relations between Romanian and Soviet archaeologists. In order to better situate Hîncu's position, I will study the point of view shared by his opponents in the years 1960–1980. I will then analyze Ion Hîncu's position per se, as well as the motives that led to his removal from archaeological research.

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CHAPTER 1

The Birth of a Paradigm: Moldovan Archaeology and the Slavic Problem

Introduction

This chapter has three sections. In the first one, I will identify the characteristics and the stakes of the first archaeological studies carried out on the territory of Bessarabia. I will look at the institutions that emerged and showed particular interest in the archaeological remains of this province during the Tsarist era. Next, I will examine the archaeological activity of the period during which Bessarabia was part of Greater Romania. I will focus on the situation of archaeological research in MASSR. I will also discuss the date of birth of Moldovan archaeology and I will provide details about its institutions. I will then examine its relationship with the Archaeological Institute in Moscow, the main archaeological institution of the USSR, and analyze one of the principal features of Moldovan archaeology in the Soviet period, its Russian appearance.

In the second part, I will examine the theoretical framework of Moldovan archaeology. I shall begin with the nineteenth century when the first Russian archaeologists questioned the object and purpose of archaeology. I shall then take a look at the attempts of the 1920s and 1930s to transform the "old" Russian archaeology into a Marxist science. In this context, one will learn about "the method of ascension" and "the approach in stages." I shall then turn to the "retrospective method," which from the end of the 1940s was used by Moldovan archaeology alongside the approach of analogies, in order to study the Slavic problem. A brief overview of the Marxist influence on Moldovan Soviet archaeology will complete this section.

The last part of this chapter is a reflection on the beginnings of the Slavic archaeology in MSSR. I shall begin by seeing why in the nineteenth century Bessarabia did not succeed in attracting the first Slavic archaeologists, although often in the Russian historiographical tradition this territory was seen as part of the ancestral lands of Slavs and Russians. I will then provide details on the beginnings of the first research of Slavic material traces in MSSR. I shall also dwell on the particular attitude of Georgiĭ Smirnov, the chief executive of the archaeological sector of the central Moldovan scientific institution, the Institute of History, Economics, Language and Literature (the precursor of the Sciences Academy of the MSSR), in relation to the Slavic problem.

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1 Moldovan Archaeology: The Beginnings of a Discipline

1.1 *From Cantemir to Surucean*

Descriptio Moldaviae, the work of the Moldavian prince Dimitrie Cantemir, appeared in the second decade of the eighteenth century, in St. Petersburg. In his book, Cantemir noticed the remains of ancient fortifications on the territory of his principality, including that of the future Bessarabia, and tried to explain their origin. After the annexation of Bessarabia by Tsarist Russia, members of the Russian military, who at the time were responsible for the elaboration of the topographic and geodesic measurements, were also intrigued by the presence of what appeared to be traces of ancient civilizations. Their maps contained the landmarks of several burial mounds, ancient fortifications, and settlements.[1]

During the first decades of the nineteenth century, in Russia, as well as in other European countries, the elites and most academic institutions, such as the Academy of Sciences, the Hermitage, the Academy of Fine Arts, the Archaeological and Numismatic Society of St. Petersburg, developed a fascination for the "classical antiquities" of the Greco-Roman period.[2] The first surveys and archaeological enquiries carried out by Russians in Bessarabia in the 1840s were closely tied to the search for those antiquities.

Most authors of those early investigations were members of the Society of History and Antiquity in Odessa, an avant-garde institution that, ever since its establishment in 1839 and up to the First World War, was at the forefront of the archaeological, historical, and ethnographic study of Bessarabia and New Russia.[3]

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1 Nicolae Chetraru, *Din istoria arheologiei Moldovei* (*Basarabia și Transnistria*) (Kishinev: Știința, 1994), 19–23; Isak A. Rafalovich and [Nicolae Chetraru] Nikolaĭ A. Ketraru, "Iz istorii arkheologii i kraevedeniia Moldavii," *Problemy geografii Moldavii* 1 (1966): 95.

2 Gleb S. Lebedev, *Istoriia otechestvennoĭ arkheologii. 1700–1917 gg*. (Saint Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo S. Peterburgskogo Universiteta, 1992), 59–62; Geral'd N. Matiushin, "Russkoe (Rossiiskoe) Arkheologicheskoe Obshchestvo i ego rol' v razvitii arkheologii v Rossii," *Arkheologicheskie izyskaniia* 33 (1996): 7–8; Irina V. Tunkina, *Russkaia nauka o klassicheskikh drevnostiakh iuga Rosii, XVII–seredina XIX v.* (Saint Petersburg: Nauka, 2002), 63–245 and 313–315.

3 According to the author of an activity report of this society, Bessarabia and especially the history of its Romanian population deserved special attention. This was achieved by the publication of a large number of results in the society's journal on issues of archaeology, history and ethnography. Such interest on the part of this society can be explained, among other things, by the administrative community of Bessarabia and New Russia. To date, the affairs of the two provinces were managed by the same governor who resided in Odessa, the main city of the region. The political upheavals of the second decade of the twentieth century put an end to the activity of this institution. It officially ceased its operations in 1922. In 1959 a group of Ukrainian archaeologists and ethnographers tried to resuscitate it, but its activity

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The nineteenth century also saw the emergence of the first museums in the region. This is the case of the Museum of Antiquities of Scythian Pontus, created in Kishinev, the capital of Bessarabia by Ion Surucean, a collector, and a local, amateur, archaeologist. The museum was accompanied by a library whose holdings included many publications on history and archaeology, as well as a large collection of ancient documents. In order to complement the museum's collection, Surucean carried out several excavations, the most important being those in two ancient Greek cities, Tyras and Olbia, situated on the northern edge of the Black Sea. In recognition of his merits, Surucean was elected member of several scientific societies, the most important being the Imperial Archaeological Society of St. Petersburg, and the Odessa Society of History and Antiquity. In the history of Moldovan archaeology, Ion Surucean now passes for "the first Moldovan archaeologist."[4]

1.2 *The Scientific Archivistic Commission of Bessarabia*

Apart from the emergence of museums and private collections, the late nineteenth century was also marked by the creation of local scientific societies. The purpose of some of those societies was archaeological study. The Scientific Archival Commission of Bessarabia was perhaps the most prominent example in that respect. Created in 1898, it evolved in the same way as its counterparts in other regions of the Russian empire.[5] The main if not the only archaeologist

did not regain its previous intensity. Valentin Dergacev, "Arheologia Republicii Moldova. Retrospectivă istorică," *Thraco-Dacica* 15/1–2 (1992): 10–11; Chetraru, *Din istoria arheologiei*, 27–40 and 92–112; [Nicolae Chetraru] Nikolaĭ A. Ketraru and Lazar' L. Polevoĭ, *Moldaviia ot kamnia do bronzy* (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1971), 5–7; Rafalovich and [Chetraru] Ketraru, "Iz istorii arkheologii," 96–105; Filipp Brun, "Tridtsatiletie Odesskogo Obshchestva Istorii i Drevnostei, ego zapiski i arkheologicheskaia sobraniia," *Zapiski Odesskago obshchestva istorii i drevnostei* 8 (1872): 329; Vladimir N. Stanko, "Odesskoe arkheologicheskoe obshchestvo," in *150 let Odesskomu Obshchestvu Istorii i drevnostei, 1839–1989. Tezisy dokladov iubileinoi konferentsii 27–28 oktiabria 1989 g. g. Odessa*, ed., Vladimir N. Stanko (Odessa: Odesskoe arkheologicheskoe obshchestvo/Odesskii Arkheologicheskii muzei AN USSR. Odesskii gosudarstvennyi Universitet im. I.I. Mechnikova, 1989), 5–8; Tunkina, *Russkaia nauka*, 256–287.

4 Chetraru, *Din istoria arheologiei*, 46–82; Nicolae Chetraru and Nicolae Răileanu, *Ion Casian Surucean în arheologia și muzeologia basarabeană* (Kishinev: Tyragetia, 2001); [Chetraru] Ketraru and Polevoĭ, *Moldaviia ot kamnia do bronzy*, 5; Rafalovich and [Chetraru] Ketraru, "Iz istorii arkheologii," 101–102.

5 Since 1884, when the first Commissions appeared and until the second or the third decade of the twentieth century, when they disappeared, about forty of such institutions have been recorded in different corners of Russia. Their original purpose was the conservation of local heritage (archival, religious, archaeological, artistic), but they soon became regional centers for the study of history, ethnography, archaeology, Local art. Valeria A. Alenova, *Istoricheskaia nauka v Rosiiskoĭ provintsii v kontse XIX–nachale XX vv. Tambovskaia uchenaia arkhivnaia komissiia* (Ryazan: Tribunskii, 2002), 20–31; Vladimir I. Pervushkin, *Stanovlenie i*

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of this institution was its deputy director, Aleksandr Krylov, a senior official involved in the education system of Bessarabia. Originally from the province of Vladimir, in the western region of Russia, he worked for several years in the education system of Voiska Donskogo Province in south-western Russia. According to his own words, the inspiration for Krylov's first archaeological investigations came from Walter Scott's historical novels.[6] The results of his research were published in the local press. Krylov also presented his research at a congress organized by the Moscow Society of Archaeology.[7] It was on that occasion that he was elected a member of this society, but also of the Imperial Society of Archaeology of St. Petersburg. His activity was also recognized by the Society of History and Antiquity of Odessa, of which Krylov would also become a member.[8]

However, according to the reports of activity and the articles published in the *Journal of the Scientific Archival Commission of Bessarabia*, Krylov's activity in that province as well as in other areas was rather modest. It consisted of one day of excavations, during which time Krylov, allegedly, investigated six burial

razvitie provintsial'nogo kraevedeniia v Rossii vo vtoroi treti XIX–nachale XX veka (*na primere penzenskoi, tambovskoi i saratovskoi gubernii*). Avtoreferat dissertatsii na soiskanie uchenoi stepeni doktora istoricheskikh nauk (Saransk: PGU, 2008); Liubov' F. Pisar'kova, "Gubernskie uchenye arkhivnye komissii: organizatsiia, chislennost' i usloviia deiatel'nosti," *Arkheograficheskii ezhegodnik za 1989 god* (1990): 187–198: Liubov' F. Pisar'kova, *Izdaniia gubernskikh uchenykh arkhivnykh komissii 1884–1923 gg*. (New York: Norman Ross Publishing Inc, 1994), XVII–XIX, 1–3: Sigurd O. Shmidt, "Ot redaktora," in *Izdaniia gubernskikh uchenykh arkhivnykh komisii 1884–1923* by Liubov' F. Pisar'kova (New York: Norman Ross Publishing Inc, 1994), XV–XVI.

6 Aleksandr Krylov, "Kratkie vospominaniia o moikh zaniatiiakh po arkheologii," *Trudy Bessarabskoi gubernskoi uchenoi arkhivnoi komissii* 1 (1900): 71.

7 The Society of Archaeology in Moscow had perhaps the most remarkable activity of all the societies of its kind in Tsarist Russia. Established in 1864, it was intended as a central institution in the field of archaeological research. It is in this sense that one must understand its tendency to impose the main research questions to Russian archaeology and to set up a unique and compulsory methodology for all the archaeologists in the country. In a similar way, one must understand its campaign to sustain regional archaeological centers. One of the means it chose to achieve this goal was the organization of archaeological congresses, each time in a different region of Russia. For details of the activities of this institution, see Lebedev, *Istoriia otechestvennoĭ arkheologii*, 101–113 and 157–197.

8 Krylov, "Kratkie vospominaniia," 69–78.

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mounds, and two short articles published in the review of the Commission.[9] This weak activity was apparently due to the Commission's lack of funds.[10]

Lack of funds was affecting almost all the commissions of the empire. Their operation was mostly based on self-financing. In 1914, the central government of St. Petersburg decided to fund these commissions, but the war and then the Bolshevik coup prevented the realization of that project.[11]

As far the Commission of Bessarabia was concerned, there was an additional reason which might have influenced its destiny. It seemed that in its case there was a real possibility that it would contribute to the spread of the nationalist, pro-Romanian movement in the region, even if its leaders reassured the administrative and political authorities that their aim was solely to demonstrate the extent to which "the Russian man is interested in his past, how much he loved his ancestors, and his country, and finally, how Bessarabia, despite the diversity of races that populated it, lived a completely Russian life, just like the provinces with purely Russian populations."[12]

One of the leaders of the Bessarabian Commission, the third one in the hierarchical scale, was the intellectual Ioan Halippa. He seemed to have been the real soul of the Commission. Halippa was its chief administrator, archivist, and historian, while also trying to get involved in the archaeological research, notably by creating an archaeological map of Bessarabia.[13] The articles published by Halippa in the review of the Commission were numerous and consistent, a fact also noticed by the critics of the time.[14] However, the secret police had

9 "Protokoly i zhurnaly zasedanii Bessarabskoi Gubernskoi Uchenoi Arkhivnoi Komisii," *Trudy Bessarabskoi gubernskoi uchenoi arkhivnoi komisii* 1 (1900): 375–406; [Halippa] Khalippa, "Otchet o deiatel'nosti Bessarabskoi Uchenoi Arkhivnoi Komissii s 23 Avgusta," 407–420; [Halippa] Khalippa, "Otchet o deiatel'nosti Bessarabskoi Uchenoi Arkhivnoi Komissii za," 451–455; [Halippa] Khalippa, "Protokoly," 509–528; "Protokoly zasedanii Bessarabskoi Gubernskoi Uchenoi Arkhivnoi Komissii," *Trudy Bessarabskoi Gubernskoi Uchenoi Arkhivnoi Komisii* 2 (1902): 425–447; Krylov, "Kratkie vospominaniia," 69–78; Aleksandr Krylov, "Znachenie i pouchitel'naia storona zaniatii arkheologiei," *Trudy Bessarabskoi gubernskoi uchenoi arkhivnoi komissii* 2 (1902): 1–10; Aleksandr Krylov, "Malen'kaia arkheologicheskaia ėkskursiia (Probnye raskopki v s. Chekoltenakh Orgeevskogo uezda)," *Trudy Bessarabskoi gubernskoi uchenoi arkhivnoi komissii* 3 (1908): 297–299.

10 Chetraru, *Din istoria arheologiei*, 105–112; [Chetraru] Ketraru and Polevoĭ, *Moldaviia ot kamnia do bronzy*, 5–6; Rafalovich and [Chetraru] Ketraru, "Iz istorii arkheologii," 102–104.

11 Pisar'kova, "Gubernskie uchenye arkhivnye komissii," 190–198.

12 [Halippa] Khalippa, "Ideia," 23.

13 Chetraru, *Din istoria arheologiei*, 108.

14 Pisar'kova, *Izdaniia gubernskikh uchenykh arkhivnykh komissii*, 1–3; Vasiliĭ Rudakov, "Trudy Bessarabskoi gubernskoi uchenoi arkhivnoi komissii, T.I. Kishinev. 1900," *Trudy Bessarabskoi gubernskoi uchenoi arkhivnoi komissii* 2 (1902): 448; Vasiliĭ Rudakov, "Otzyvy

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serious reasons to be suspicious about Halippa's activity, for he was also one of the promoters of the Bessarabian pro-Romanian movement.[15]

1.3 *The "Romanian" Period*

At the time when Bessarabia was part of Greater Romania, some central institutions in Bucharest expressed interest in its archaeological remains. The National Museum of Antiquities, the main archaeological institution of the country since its creation in 1864 was the most active.[16] Its researchers carried out several archaeological excavations, amongst which the best known were those of Tyras, an ancient Greek city, and the medieval citadel of Cetatea Albă, located on the northern edge of the Black Sea.[17]

The archaeological activity of the National Museum of History of Nature in Kishinev, an institution created in 1889 when Bessarabia was still part of the Russian Empire was also quite significant. Initially known as Museum of Zoology, Agriculture and Handicraft, the museum did not feature archaeology among its objectives. However, since 1922 or 1926, it had a department specifically designed to accomplish that task. Its activity was perceived as an annex to the geological and paleontological study of the region, a fact which explained why the interest of its researchers focused mainly on the study of prehistoric sites.[18]

Another local institution mentioned by some authors as being interested in the study of archaeological remains was the former Scientific Archival Commission of Bessarabia, converted after 1918 into a branch of the Romanian Commission for Historical Monuments, an organization established in Bucharest in

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o 'Trudakh' Bessarabskoi Arkhivnoi Komissii," *Trudy Bessarabskoi gubernskoi uchenoi arkhivnoi komissii* 3 (1908): 528.

15 Maria Danilov, "Istoricul Ioan Halippa și publicistica basarabeană (1898–1908)," in *Elita culturală și presa*, ed., Răduț Bîlbîie, and Mihaela Teodor (Bucarest: Editura Militară, 2013), 29–37; Dinu Poștarencu, "Ioan Halippa, cercetător pasionat al istoriei Basarabiei," *Tyragetia* 2 (2015): 143–154; Angela Colin, "Contextul plecării lui Ioan Halippa din Basarabia (1910). O scrisoare a lui I. Halippa către arhiepiscopul Arsenie (Axentie Stadnițchi)," *Revista de istorie a Moldovei* 1 (2017): 147–156.

16 Mircea Anghelinu, *Evoluția gândirii teoretice în arheologia din România. Concepte și modele aplicate în preistorie* (Târgoviște: Cetatea de scaun, 2003), 86–88.

17 Chetraru, *Din istoria arheologiei*, 92–112 and 118–119; Alexandra Ștefan, "Istoricul Muzeului Național de Antichități—Institutul de Arheologie, II. Progresele arheologiei și muzeografiei în România în perioada 1881–1927," *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologie* 35/2 (1984): 139.

18 Elena Ploșniță and Nicolae Răileanu, *Pagini de muzeografie basarabeană* (Kishinev: Universitas, 1999), 38–43; Chetraru, *Din istoria arheologiei*, 117–118; Natal'ia Mel'nikova, "Iz istorii izucheniia arkheologii v muzee," *Buletinul Științific. Etnografie, științele naturii și muzeologie* 3/16 (2005): 320–323.

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1892. However, it appears that in Bessarabia that institution did not undertake any archaeological study.[19] Its representatives were rather interested in what today would be called the study and protection of the architectural heritage.

The best known local researcher of the time was Nicolae Moroşan. A graduate of the University of Iaşi, he got his bachelor's degree in Natural Sciences in 1927 and made his first research while he was still a student. Pleistocene and Paleolithic Studies were his specialization, as well as the subject of his doctoral thesis which he defended in 1931 at the University of Bucharest. After the completion of his studies, Moroşan worked as a teacher in a high school in Kishinev. This did not prevent him from continuing his archaeological career, while also holding an assistant position at the University of Iaşi. The results of his activity were recognized internationally. The International Commission for the Study of Human Fossils, the French Society of Prehistory, and the International Institute of Anthropology of Paris, all offered him membership.[20]

Later, Soviet archaeologists asserted that in 1946, the year which marked the beginning of the systematic Soviet archaeological research of the MSSR, the territory of the MSSR was a "white spot on the Soviet archaeological map." At the same time, the archaeological discoveries made earlier were considered "accidental." As shown above, such statements are far from truth. On the other hand, it must be emphasized that the archaeological studies on the territory of the MSSR have never reached the level on which they were after 1946, mostly thanks to very generous funding from the Soviet state.[21]

1.4 *Archaeological Projects in the Moldovan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and Transnistria*

The information we have on the archaeological activity in the MASSR is scarce and sometimes contradictory. According to the author of an article published in the late 1930s on the scientific activity in the MASSR, in 1934 an archaeological team from the Institute of the History of Material Culture of the Academy of Sciences from Kiev under the leadership of Fedor Kozubovs'kiĭ, undertook

19 Chetraru, *Din istoria arheologiei*, 116–117.

20 Chetraru, *Din istoria arheologiei*, 120–127; Nicolae Chetraru and al., *Nicolae Moroşan-drama unui savant* (Kishinev: Tyragetia, 2003), 5.

21 Iakim S. Grosul and Nikolaĭ A. Mokhov, *Istoricheskaia nauka Moldavskoĭ SSR* (Moscow: Nauka, 1970), 50; Tat'iana S. Passek, "Arkheologicheskie razvedki v Moldavii," *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta Istorii material'noĭ kul'tury imeni N.Ia. Marra* 26 (1949): 57; Georgiĭ D. Smirnov and Lazar' L. Polevoĭ, "Arkheologiia Moldavii v gody Sovetskoĭ vlasti," *Sovetskaia arkheologiia* 3 (1967): 73; Georgiĭ D. Smirnov, "O rabote Moldavskoĭ i Pruto-dnestrovskoĭ arkheologicheskoĭ ėkspeditsii Instituta Istorii Akademii Nauk MSSR za 1946–1964 gg.," *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk Moldavskoĭ SSR* 2 (1966): 70–75.

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excavations as part of a complex project that studied the soil, water, flora, fauna and economy of the region. According to the article in question, Ukrainian archaeologists brought back to Kiev about "two tons of valuables."[22] However, the activity report of the Institute of the History of Material Culture for the year 1934, which was signed by Kozubovs'kiĭ, does not mention anything about such an investigation.[23]

In turn, archival documents revealed the intentions of Ukrainian archaeologists to begin excavations on the territory of the MASSR. However, it seemed that these intentions were never materialized.[24]

At least two museums existed in the MASSR that offered their visitors archaeological exhibitions. However, the actual archaeological activity of those institutions was very limited. There seemed to be a single excavation campaign carried out by the director of one of those museums which revealed some Neolithic artefacts.[25]

It should also be noted that since 1928, the MASSR had its own centralized scientific institution, known as the Moldovan Scientific Committee.[26] This institution included in its activity plans for a subdivision which listed among its tasks the archaeological study of the MASSR.[27] Despite serious efforts, I found no information about its activity. It is likely that the desire of the Moldovan Scientific Committee to undertake such research remained on paper. Until the mid-1930s, ancient, medieval history, and archaeology were not priorities

22 Nichita P. Smochină, "Institutul de cercetări științifice din Republica Moldovenească," *Însemnări ieșene* 5/3 (1938): 501.

23 Fedor A. Kozubovs'kiĭ, "Ėkspeditsiini doslidzhennia Institutu istoriĭ material'noĭ kul'turi VUAN 1934 r.," *Visti vseukraïns'koï Akademiï Nauk* 8–9 (1935): 40–50.

24 Anna Yanenko, "Z istoriĭ arkheologiĭ Avtonomnoï Moldavskoï Sotsialistichnoï Radianskoï Respubliki (1920–1930-ti rr.)," in *Arkasivs'ki chitaniia: materiali III Mizhnarodnoï naukovo-praktichnoi konferentsiĭ, 26–27 kvitnia 2013 r.* (Mykolaiv: MHU imeni V.O. Sukhomlins'kogo, 2013), 89–92.

25 Yanenko, "Z istoriĭ arkheologiĭ Avtonomnoï Moldavskoï," 89–92.

26 The Moldovan Scientific Committee appeared two years after the emergence of MASSR. Until 1928 it had only one sector, that of linguistics. In the years to come, it underwent several reorganizations. Other sectors were added. Its name changed several times. Just before the war, it was called the Institute of History, Economics, Language and Literature. After the war, this Institute would be included in the new Moldovan scientific organization, the research base of the USSR Academy of Sciences. This base was transformed in 1961 into The Moldovan Academy of Sciences. Meurs, *Chestiunea*, 191–192 and 202; Smochină, "Institutul de cercetări," 487–530; Nichita P. Smochină, *Republica Moldovenească a Sovietelor* (Bucharest: Cartea Românească, 1938), 151–153; Oleg Iu. Tarasov, *Ocherki istorii organizatsii nauki Moldavii, 1924–1961* (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1980), 17–39, 44–45, 50, 53–57, 60–61 and 68–69; Nicolae Movileanu, "Din istoria Transnistriei (1924–1940) (II)," *Revista de istorie a Moldovei* 2 (1993): 69–77.

27 Tarasov, *Ocherki istorii organizatsii*, 22.

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for that Committee. Its main aims were the study of the contemporary period and the Moldovan language, both seen as indispensable for the propagation of the Bolshevik ideals, a trend commonly observed throughout Soviet historiography until the mid-1930s.[28] The Moldovan Scientific Committee also lacked specialists to accomplish such a task. Moreover, during the 1930s the activity of the Committee was shaken by Stalinist repression. Some of its representatives who had expressed interest in the ancient and medieval history of the region and who could have initiated or contributed to the initiation of archaeological research on the territory of the republic had to face accusations of nationalism or espionage. Some were dismissed from their posts, and even imprisoned.[29]

During World War II, the MASSR was abolished and its territory integrated into the Province of Transnistria with Odessa as its capital. That province comprised the territory between the Dniester and the Bug and was created in 1941 by the Romanian authorities shortly after the Romanian army entered the territory of the USSR as an ally of Nazi Germany. In 1942, the Romanian authorities provided for an archaeological campaign,[30] its purpose being to demonstrate that the newly acquired province had a history associated to the Romanian civilization. In this sense, some Romanian historians had made the first steps to write the history of the region in the mid-1920s, immediately after the establishment of MASSR. At the time, a history of the Romanophone population of Transnistria appeared in Romania, which claimed that Romanians were in fact the oldest inhabitants of the region.[31]

In the end, no archaeological excavations took place, but the Romanian authorities plundered or destroyed local museums and private collections, especially those owned by Jews. The events took place under the aegis of the Romanian Army's Seizure Service, an institution that included prominent archaeologists. Between 1941 and 1944, several collections of artefacts, maps, and books of archaeology and history from the region enriched the collections of some Romanian institutions, especially from Bucharest.[32]

1.5 *The Birth of Moldovan Archaeology*

In one of his works, the best known historian of Moldovan archaeology, Nicolae Chetraru, suggests that the history of "Moldovan national archaeology" began

28 Stamati, "Entre l'internationalisme," 363–364.

29 Stamati, "Entre l'internationalisme," 364–365 and 369.

30 Radu-Alexandru Dragoman, "Pagini inconfortabile din istoria arheologiei românești: Odessa și Transnistria, 1941–1944," *Studii de Preistorie* 13 (2016): 11–12.

31 Ion Nistor, *Românii Transnistrieni* (Cernăuți: Institutul de arte grafice și editura "Glasul Bucovinei", 1925), 5–6.

32 Dragoman, "Pagini inconfortabile," 12–14.

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in the eighteenth century, with the publication of Moldavian prince Dimitrie Cantemir's *Descriptio Moldaviae*. The creation of topographic maps, the activity of the Society of History and Antiquity of Odessa, the appearance of private collections and museums, the activity of Surucean and of the Scientific Archival Commission of Bessarabia, the investigations of the Bucharest-based institutions and the National Museum of History of Nature from Kishinev, the Pleistocene and Paleolithic studies of Moroşan—all were, according to Chetraru, only links of the same chain, that of the history of the "national Moldovan" archaeology.[33]

However, at a closer look, such conclusions have no support in the evidence. The Scientific Archival Commission of Bessarabia was not conceived as a Moldovan institution. As previously stated, its goal was to show to what extent the province "in spite of the diversity of the races inhabiting it, has a completely Russian life." Nor can be any doubt that at the time when Bessarabia was part of Greater Romania, the National Museum of History of Nature from Kishinev was anything but a Moldovan national institution.

In addition, none of those who carried out archaeological studies in Bessarabia before 1945 and 1946 contributed to the future discipline known as Moldovan archaeology. In 1940, when Bessarabia was first, but only for a few months between the Soviet borders, the former Museum of the History of Nature was transformed into a Central Research Museum for the MSSR region. Like the old museum, the new one had an archaeological sector.[34] His new director, Nicolae Moroşan, planned to continue his investigations, but the Second World War and his death prevented the realization of that project.[35] That

33 Speaking about the Russian soldiers responsible for the elaboration of topographical and geodesic maps of Bessarabia, Chetraru emphasized their contribution to the "continuation of the development of Moldovan national archaeology." Chetraru, *Din istoria arheologiei*, 19.

34 Chetraru and al., *Nicolae Moroşan*, 203.

35 In 1940, the USSR annexed Bessarabia. Moroşan, like several other Bessarabian intellectuals, decided to remain there. Apart from his position of director of the Central Research Museum for the MSSR, he became a university professor and, according to his own testimony, under pressure, he accepted to become a member of the Supreme Council, the highest executive institution in the USSR. In 1941, he was arrested by the NKVD (the future KGB) under suspicion of anti-Sovietism, but after a short detention, he was released. In the following years, he worked as a professor at the Industrial Institute of Tomsk, a town in western Siberia. In 1944, probably harassed continuously by the NKVD and tormented by feelings of guilt as he did not want to be seen as a traitor to his Romanian homeland, as well as ignoring the fate of his family whom he had not seen since his arrest, Moroşan committed suicide in a hotel room in Moscow. Prior to his desperate gesture, he had a discouraging discussion with an employee at the British Embassy where he made a visit hoping to transmit to the Romanian Academy a letter in which he exculpated himself for

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is why Moldovan archaeology did not truly exist before the early years after the Second World War.

1.6 *The Archaeological Sector of the Moldovan Academy*

Systematic Soviet archaeological studies of the MSSR began in 1946.[36] Their official initiators were the Moldovan Institute of History, Economics, Language and Literature, the Institute of the History of Material Culture from Moscow (the future Institute of Archaeology), and the Institute of Archaeology in Kiev. The head of the latter, Pëtr Efimenko, was put in charge of the project. Georgiĭ Smirnov, a researcher from the same institution, was appointed his assistant.[37] Smirnov became the second employee in 1947, and since 1956 served as the first head of the main Moldovan archaeological institution, which was created in 1946 as a sector within the Moldovan Institute of History, Economics, Language and Literature.[38] Born in 1903 in the village of the province of Riazan (central Russia), Smirnov worked as electrician and projectionist at the Museum of the Revolution in Moscow in the late 1920s. In 1932, he began attending the courses of a section in charge with preparing workers for doctoral studies. His archaeological career began in 1934 under the direction of Boris Grakov, an important Soviet scholar in classical philology and Scythian-Sarmatian

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having accepted the positions bestowed upon him by the Soviets. Chetraru and al., *Nicolae Moroșan*.

36 In 1945, Ukrainian archaeologists were already present in the MSSR, but their research was limited to a few summary surveys. Chetraru, *Din istoria arheologiei*, 131; Adrian Pelivan, "Debutul științei arheologice în Republica Sovietică Socialistă Moldovenească," *Revista științifică a Universității de Stat din Moldova* 4/34 (2010): 8–9; Adrian Pelivan, "Noi date privind procesul de organizare a primelor expediții arheologice din RSS Moldovenească," *Revista Arheologică, serie nouă* 7/1–2 (2011): 264–273.

37 Pëtr P. Efimenko, "Korotkii zvit pro arkheologichni ėkspeditsiini doslidzhennia Institutu Arkheologiĭ AN URSR u 1946 r.," *Vestnik Akademiĭ Nauk Ukrains'koi RSR* 5 (1947): 11; [Chetraru] Ketraru and Polevoĭ, *Moldaviia ot kamnia do bronzy*, 8; Smirnov, "O rabote," 70.

38 Upon Smirnov's arrival in Kishinev there was only one archaeologist, Viktor Adiasevici, the author of a book on the history of Greek art and an archaeological repertoire of MSSR that was never published. Adiasevici was hired by the Institute of History, Economics, Language and Literature of Kishinev in 1945. Before that date, he spent several years in the Stalinist gulag because of his anti-Soviet attitude. In 1949, he was imprisoned again. After his release in 1956, he no longer had the right to establish himself in the Moldovan capital. He sought refuge in a village near Kishinev where he worked as a librarian at the local school. He never returned to archaeology. Viktor M. Adiiasevich, *Pamiatniki Moldavii, Materialy dlia sostavleniia arkheologicheskoĭ karty MSSR* (AAȘRM. Fond 3, Opis' 2, Nr. 45, 1946); Iurie Colesnic, "Ultimul enciclopedist basarabean," *BiblioPolis* 44/3 (2012): 176–177; Iziaslav Levit, "Evgeniĭ Mikhailovich Russev—shtrikhi k portretu," *Stratum plus* 6 (2005–2009): 14, 16; Adrian Pelivan, "Cercetarea paleoliticului în spațiul Pruto-Nistrean (1923–1973)," *Revista Arheologică, serie nouă* 6/1 (2010): 115.

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archaeology.[39] Smirnov participated in the archaeological excavations carried out by Grakov in the Ukraine on sites attributed to Scythians and Sarmatians. In 1939, after completing his doctoral studies, but without defending his dissertation, Smirnov was sent to the Institute of Archaeology in Kiev, where he took the job of scientific secretary until the beginning of the Second World War. During the war, Smirnov served as an instructor in an officer's school in Frunze (the capital of Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic, now Bishkek). After the war, Smirnov was rehired as researcher at the Ukrainian Institute of Archaeology, a position he held until the beginning of his Moldovan career. In addition to his job as archaeologist, he worked for several years as secretary of the Communist Party organization in the Academy of Sciences.[40]

Concerning the archaeological sector, the archival documents retained several names under which it functioned in the first years of its existence: Archaeological and Ethnographic Sector within the Gagauz Study Group, Archaeological and Ethnographic Sector, Historical and Archaeological Sector, or simply, Archaeological Sector.[41] Smirnov headed the institution until his retirement in 1970. At that time, the Sector functioned as the Archaeological Sector and was part of the Institute of History of the Moldovan Academy established in 1961. In 1968, an autonomous sector was created for ethnographers. The archival documents show that that sector also had a position of archaeologist under the rather confusing title of "paleo-ethnographer." The job of the "paleo-ethnographer" was to study Moldavian material culture of the medieval period.[42]

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39 Valeriĭ I. Guliaev, ed., *Institut Arkheologii: istoriia i sovremenost'. Sbornik nauchnykh biografii* (Moscow: Institut arkheologii RAN, 2000), 88–91.

40 Demir Dragnev, interview by Iurie Stamati, 2010, audio; *Institut istorii. Zaveduiushchiĭ sektorom arkheologii, Smirnov Georgiĭ Dmitrievich.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 3, Nr. 3346, 1947–1970).

41 "Dopolnenia k otchetu Instituta istorii, iazyka i literatury Moldavskoĭ Nauchno-Issledovatel'skoĭ Bazy AN SSSR na 1947 g.," in *Otchet o nauchno-issledovatel'skoĭ rabote Moldavskoĭ Issl bazy AN SSSR*. (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1, Nr. 4, 1947); "Plan nauchno-issledovatel'skoĭ raboty Instituta istorii, iazyka i literatury Moldavskoĭ Nauchno-Issledovatel'skoĭ Bazy AN SSSR na II kv. 1948g.," in *Tematicheskiĭ plan na 1948 g.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1/1, Nr. 10, 1948); *Otchet o nauchnoĭ deiatel'nosti moldavskoĭ bazy AN SSSR za pervoe polugodie, 1949 g.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1/1, Nr. 11, 1949); "Otchet o rabote Instituta istorii, iazyka i literatury Moldavskogo filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR za 1956 g. (Istoricheskie otdely)," in *Otchet o Nauchno-issledovatel'skoĭ rabote instituta za 1956 god.* (AAȘRM. Fond 3, Opis' 1, Nr. 152, 1956).

42 "Otchiot o nauchnoĭ i nauchno-organizatsionnoĭ deiatel'nosti Otdela ėtnografii i iskusstvovedeniia za 1969 g.," in *Otchety otdeleniia obshchestvennykh nauk In-ta istorii za 1969g.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1, Nr. 252, 1969); Iakim S. Grosul, ed., *Akademiia Nauk Moldavskoĭ SSR* (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1974), 72–74.

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In 1964, the Archaeological Sector had already nine employees specializing in almost all the "archaeological epochs" identified in MSSR.[43] Their number increased continuously. In 1992, a year after the disappearance of the Soviet Union, the Sector was transformed into the Institute of Archaeology and Ancient History, which now had 30 employees,[44] many of whom were graduates of the Faculties of History at the State University, and the "Ion Creangă" Pedagogical Institute, both in Kishinev. In 1990, the Thracological Laboratory was created at the Faculty of History of the State University. The laboratory functioned as an autonomous archaeological research center. Starting in the mid-1990s, the archaeologists teaching at the "Ion Creangă" Pedagogical Institute (now turned into a Pedagogical University) also carried out their own excavations.

1.7 *Archaeology at the Central Research Museum of the Region of the MSSR*

In 1946, the archaeological section of the Central Research Museum of the MSSR resumed its activity. Georgiĭ Sergeev, the head of the section, had come from Russia in 1945 to carry out excavations on a site of the Paleolithic era.[45] Born in 1907 in Omsk, a town in Western Siberia, he studied at Leningrad from 1929 to 1932, specializing in archaeology and museography. He then returned to his native Siberia and participated in ethnographic and archaeological expeditions. Before moving to the MSSR, Sergeev was responsible for the historical sector of a Siberian regional museum. He came to the MSSR to experience a climate warmer than that of his native Siberia, following his doctor's recommendations. Upon his arrival, he was hired by the museum and remained there until his death in 1974. During that period, Sergeev carried out several field surveys and excavations. He mounted a new archaeological exhibition and took many trips in the republic for popularizing the results of archaeological excavations.[46] Sergeev also participated in field work carried out by other archaeologists in the MSSR.[47] Despite all that activity, the Central Research

43 "Institut Istorii," in *Spravki o structure, chislennosti sotrudnikov, nalichie rabochikh nauchnykh ucherezhdenii AN MSSR na 1963–1964 god.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1/1, Nr. 193, 1964).

44 Dergacev, "Arheologia Republicii Moldova," 12.

45 [Chetraru] Ketraru and Polevoĭ, *Moldaviia ot kamnia do bronzy*, 8.

46 The archaeological sector of The Academy had, ever since 1957, its own archaeological museum which was later transformed into an archaeological and ethnographic museum. Grosul, ed., *Akademiia Nauk*, 42.

47 Nicolae Chetraru, pers.comm. 2010; Sergiu Matveev and Adrian Pelivan, "G.P. Sergeev—promotor al istoriei locale în RSSM," *Revista arheologică, serie nouă* 13/1–2 (2017): 285–290; Mel'nikova, "Iz istorii izucheniia," 323–328.

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Museum of the region of the MSSR remained an archaeological center of secondary significance.

1.8 *Moldovan Archaeology and the Institute of Archaeology in Moscow*

Although the MSSR had, since 1946 and 1947, its own archaeological institutions, the supreme authority overseeing the archaeological activity in the republic was until the late 1960s the Archaeological Institute of Moscow, represented by Tat'iana Passek and Georgiĭ Fedorov.[48] Passek specialized in prehistoric studies. She came to the MSSR in 1947, convinced that that region contained the answer to the question of how the archaeological civilization that she was studying had come into being.[49] According to some, her studies first began to "fill the ancient history of Moldavia with facts," a clear exaggeration.[50] In Soviet archaeological circles, which were dominated by males and misogynist attitudes, Passek was highly appreciated for her professionalism,[51] but also for her personal charm, which left deep traces in the memory of many archaeologists.[52] As for Georgiĭ Fedorov, he is the subject of the next chapter.

In the 1970s and the 1980s Moldovan archaeology enjoyed greater autonomy. The researchers of the archaeological sector of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the MSSR became the main managers of the archaeological studies carried in the republic. Russian and Ukrainian specialists continued to participate in the research carried out by Moldovan institutions, but only as guests or consultants.[53] However, the subordination of Moldovan

48 "Protokol № 25 zasedaniia Prezidiuma Moldavskogo filiala AN SSSR, 3 oktiabria 1952 g," in *Protokoly zasedanii prezidiuma za 1952 god*. (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1, Nr. 39, 1952); Tat'iana S. Passek, "Informatsionnoe soobshchenie ob arkheologicheskikh raskopkakh 1952 g./ dolozheno Prezidentu Moldavskogo filiala AN SSSR 3.X-52 g," in *Protokoly zasedanii prezidiuma za 1952 god*. (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1, Nr. 39, 1952); "Problemno-tematicheskiĭ plan nauchno-issledovatel'skoĭ raboty Instituta istorii Moldavskogo filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR na 1960 god," in *Perechen' problem i tem plana nauchno-issledovatel'skikh rabot Moldavskogo filiala AN SSSR na 1960 god.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1, Nr. 135, 1960).

49 [Valentin Dergacev] Valentin A. Dergachev, "«... V urnu sobrav na chuzhedal'nem kostre» (k 100-letiiu T.S. Passek)," *Stratum plus* 2 (2001–2002): 35.

50 [Chetraru] Ketraru and Polevoĭ, *Moldaviia ot kamnia do bronzy*, 8–9.

51 As to her professionalism, it seems that not all of them agreed. See here the criticism that British archaeologist Vere Gordon Child brought to her: Klejn, *Fenomen*, 114–115.

52 Vera I. Balabina, "O prekrasnoi dame, ee rytsariakh i bardakh (T.S. Passek, B.A. Latynin, i A.A. Patapov)," *Stratum plus* 2 (2001–2002): 14–31; Fedorov, *Bruschatka*, 78–99; Aleksandr A. Formozov, "O Tat'iane Sergeevne Passek," *Rossiiskaia arkheologiia* 3 (2003): 156–165.

53 "Koordinatsiia i kompleksirovanie issledovaniĭ s nauchno-issledovatel'skimi uchrezhdeniiami I vuzami MSSR i drugikh respublik," in *Otchet NIU Otdeleniia obshch. nauk za 1978 g, II chast'.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1, Nr. 393. 1978).

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archaeology to the Institute of Archaeology in Moscow remained a reality. For example, the last word concerning the head of the archaeological sector of the Academy of Sciences of the MSSR remained with the head of the Institute of Archaeology in Moscow.[54]

1.9 *The Russian Aspects of Moldovan Archaeology*

After the war, the local administration, supervised by the central government in Moscow, received the task to build an Academy of Sciences in the MSSR, including a "Moldovan National" archaeological section. In the Soviet specialized literature, archaeologists from the MSSR were called "Moldovans" and the field of their work was called "Moldovan archaeology."[55] However, since its institutionalization and until the late 1980s, a major feature of that "Moldovan archaeology" was its Russian form. All activity reports, field diaries, and publications of archaeologists of the MSSR were written only in Russian. The only exceptions were certain articles published in the local press,[56] which was in sharp contrast to neighboring Ukraine, for example. In that republic, the publication of archaeological literature in the national language never ceased, even in the 1930s, when Ukrainian nationalism was seriously affected by Stalin's anti-nationalist policy.[57]

In my opinion, several factors contributed to this state of affairs. As shown above, the birth of Moldovan archaeology was entirely due to Russian and Ukrainian specialists. Until the early 1960s, Russian archaeologists were the ones who directed the archaeological studies in the MSSR. Moreover, all archaeologists of local origin undertook their university studies partially or entirely in Russian.[58] Until the early 1990s, they did their doctoral studies in Moscow or Leningrad.

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54 Nicolae Chetraru, interview by Iurie Stamati, 2010, audio.

55 However, it should be emphasized that the phrase "Moldovan archaeologists" did not always appear to have an ethnic connotation, but rather an administrative one. The "Moldovan archaeologists" were all archaeologists employed by the academic institutions of the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic, regardless of their ethnic origin, be they Jewish, Russian or Moldovan. Vladimir I. Tsaranov, "Razvitie istoricheskoi nauki v Moldavskoĭ SSR," in *Istoricheskaia nauka sovetskoĭ Moldavii*, ed., Vladimir I. Tsaranov and al. (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1984), 19; Grosul and Mokhov, *Istoricheskaia nauka*, 56; Vladimir D. Koroliuk, "K issledovaniiam v oblasti ėtnogeneza slavian i vostochnykh romantsev," *Sovetskoe Slavianovedenie* 3 (1973): 75.

56 Georgiĭ D. Smirnov, "Mii de an' in urmė," *Tynerul leninist*, June 3, 1947.

57 See the bibliographic list: Ivan G. Shovkoplias and Nadezhda G. Dmitrenko, *Arkheologiia Ukrainskoi SSR. Bibliograficheskii ukazatel', 1918–1980* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1989).

58 Until the early 1960s, the teaching at The State University was done exclusively in Russian. At The "Ion Creangă" Teaching Institute, Russian was equally privileged. Valeriu Cozma,

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Some of these remarks are also valid, at least partially, for Ukrainian archaeology. Several archaeologists from Russia occupied important positions in the Ukraine.[59] During the entire Soviet period, specialists from Russian institutions undertook excavations on the territory of Ukraine.[60] Undoubtedly, several Ukrainian archaeologists also studied in Russian. Yet, what really made the difference was the fact that Ukrainian archaeology was not built exclusively by archaeologists from Russia. That Soviet republic had its own archaeological tradition.[61] It is also possible that the national paradigm was more rooted in the Ukrainian archaeological milieu than in Moldova.

2 Between Ethnic and Social: Theoretical Framework and Methodological References of Moldovan Archaeology

2.1 *The Ethnic Problem in Russian Archaeology before "The Great October"*

At the end of the nineteenth century and during the first two or three decades of the twentieth century, archaeology in Russia did not yet resemble the discipline that we know today. According to Aleksandr Krylov, the archaeologist of the Scientific Archival Commission of Bessarabia, the object of archaeological study was to include:

> churches, convents, fortresses, private constructions, certain places, tumuli, names of villages, names of inhabitants, names of local festivals, customs, songs, fairy tales, proverbs; the ancient writings, the ancient icons, the maps, the pictures, the portraits, the various representations; the clothing of all social classes in the country; household articles; instruments used by manufacturers, old fabrics, towels; crews; agricultural implements; the utensils used for the extraction of water or those used in the preparation of wine.[62]

Istoria Universității de stat sin Moldova. 1946–1996 (Kishinev: Ministerul Învățământului al Republicii Moldova, 1996), 217; N. Banuh ed., *Universitatea Pedagogică "Ion Creangă" din Chșinău, 1940–2000* (Kishinev: Ministerul Educației și Științei al Republicii Moldova, 2000), 19 and 100.

59 Klejn, *Fenomen*, 66.

60 Sergeĭ N. Bibikov, "K 50-letiiu arkheologicheskoĭ nauki na Ukraine," *Sovetskaia arkheologiia* 3 (1967): 49; Boris E. Paton, ed., *Istoriia Akademii Nauk Ukrainskoi SSR* (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1979), 507; Ivan G. Shovkoplias, *Rozvitok Radians'koï arkheologiï na Ukraïni (1917–1966), Bibliografiia* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1969), XXI, XXIV.

61 Klejn, *Fenomen*, 65.

62 Krylov, "Znachenie," 1.

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Superstitions, legends, local languages, archival documents, names of places and waters were also added to the list.[63]

This perception was not due to Krylov's provincialism. In the early twentieth century, it was the most widespread representation in the Russian educated society. Many of those who would later be included on the list of the first Russian professional archaeologists also shared such views. The concept that archaeology was to deal exclusively with the remains of material culture "hidden under the ground" also had its defenders. In the first decades of the twentieth century, these views gained more traction. In the 1930s, they became firmly established in the Russian academic community, which had meanwhile become Soviet.[64]

The purpose of archaeology, according to Krylov, was, amongst other things, to show, "how each branch of [human] activity had developed and perfected itself gradually, passing from the simplest forms to the most complex and perfect."[65] On the other hand, his high function in the education system of Bessarabia and apparently his devotion to the Russian patriotic ideals made him believe that the purpose of archaeology was also to contribute to instill patriotic feelings in the younger generation. In his own words, "nothing ennobles and strengthens the love for the fatherland as much as the search for [its] beginnings."[66] Such reflections were actually not that original. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the evolutionist philosophy and the studies of Western authors on the appearance and evolution of human society had already found strong echoes in Russia. The anthropogenesis, the interaction of humans with their environment, the domestication of animals, the appearance of agriculture, and the evolution of the tools, were some of the questions that spurred a strong interest at the time. However, in view of the association of those questions with the liberal and anti-clerical philosophy, especially in the aftermath of the assassination of Emperor Alexander II in 1881, cultural

63 Krylov, "Znachenie," 2.

64 Nadezhda I. Platonova, *Istoriia arkheologicheskoĭ mysli v Rosii. Vtoraia polovina XIX–pervaia tret' XX veka* (Sankt-Petrburg: Nestor-Istoriia, 2010), 117; Anatoliĭ D. Priakhin, "Istoriograficheskie issledovaniia v otechestvennoĭ arkheologii (Russkoi, Sovetskoĭ, Rossiiskoi). Periody razvitiia arkheologii v strane," *Sovremennye problemy arkheologii Rossii* 1 (2006): 58; Igor' L. Tikhonov, "K Voprosu ob ob'eme i soderzhanii termina "Arkheologiia" v russkoi dorevoliutsionnoi nauke," in *Traditsii Rosiiskoĭ arkheologii*, ed., Vadim M. Masson and al. (Saint Petersburg: Rossiiskaiia Akademiia Nauk, 1996), 17–21.

65 Krylov, "Znachenie," 2.

66 Krylov, "Znachenie," 3.

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politics in Russia turned more conservative, and the interest in the early history of humankind declined.[67]

However, that was not the case for search of the "beginnings of the homeland," since the national paradigm had been steering the activity of the most important Russian archaeologists ever since the last three or four decades of the nineteenth century. Their theoretical views, and of course the problems they chose to study, were often determined by that paradigm.[68] In the late nineteenth century, almost at the same time as the German Gustaf Kossinna, Aleksandr Spitsyn laid the foundation of the concept of "ethnic indicators" underpinning what is now known as the culture-historical approach to archaeology. That concept later allowed Soviet archaeologists to believe in the possibility of following the material traces of any ethnic group through time and archaeological cultures.[69] In 1909, addressing his students in St. Petersburg, Spitsyn asked rhetorically:

> If in the crowd or especially in a house one can distinguish a Finn from a Gypsy, a Tatar from a Frenchman, or a Jew from a Kirghiz, it is because each of them has its own appearance. Then why in this case would we not distinguish them from their objects, for even if every people has a multitude of objects of foreign origin, these are much less numerous than the objects they make according to local conditions and customs? If these ethnic groups are currently identifiable by ethnographers, why wouldn't it be possible to identify them in the past [by archaeologists]?[70]

According to Spitsyn, an ethnic group was "a human group more or less linked by the same style of life, religion, language, physical peculiarity and name."[71]

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67 Lebedev, *Istoriia otechestvennoĭ arkheologii*, 92–94 and 225–229; Platonova, *Istoriia arkheologicheskoĭ mysli*, 147.

68 Leo S. Klejn, "Paradigmy i periody v istorii otechestvennoĭ arkheologii. Retsenziia na knigu G.S. Lebedeva "Istoriia otechestvennoĭ arkheologii, 1700–1917 gg." SPb., Izd-vo S.-Peterburgskogo universiteta. 1992, 464 s., tirazh 500 ekz.," *Trudy seminara "Problemy istorii i istoriografii arkheologicheskoĭ nauki"* 1 (1995): 177–178.

69 Leo S. Klejn, *Arkheologicheskaia tipologiia* (Leningrad: Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1991), 134–135 and 145–153.

70 Quoted according to Nadezhda I. Platonova, "Aleksandr Andreevich Spitsyn o predmete, zadachakh i metodakh arkheologii," in *Arkheologiia, istoriia, numizmatika, ėtnografiia Vostochnoi Evropy. Sbornik statei pamiati prof. I.V. Dubova*, ed. Anatoliĭ N. Kirpichnikov and Valeriĭ N. Sedykh (Saint Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo S.-Peterburgskogo Universiteta, 2004), 142.

71 Quoted according to Platonova, "Aleksandr Andreevich Spitsyn," 142.

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2.2 *"The Great October" and the "Marxist" Influence on Russian Archaeology*

In the early years following the Bolshevik take-over, the problematic and theoretical spectrum of Russian archaeology was not disrupted.[72] Some archaeologists followed in the footsteps of Spitsyn and formulated the "retrospective method," a concept later used on a large scale by Soviet archaeologists.[73]

However, in the mid-1920s the situation began to change. As the Civil War was over, the Bolshevik government focused its attention on the reconstruction of the country in the "Marxist Way." The disappearance of the nationalist discourse faced with the promotion of the new Soviet state's idea of the world proletarian revolution by the political elite meant that in archaeology the ethnic problem had to be abandoned in favor of the study of socio-economic formations. According to the advocates of that new view, young archaeologists, many of whom were trained in Moscow in the "Marxist" educational institutions, had no other task than the study of socio-economic formations. Those young people claimed to hold the key to the transformation of archaeology into a Marxist science, and formulated what they called the "method of ascension." In accordance with that line of enquiry, by studying the archaeological remains, especially the tools or the means of production (to employ the Marxist terminology), it was possible to reconstruct the modes of production and consequently the socio-economic formations identified by Marx.[74]

In the early 1930s, another group of young archaeologists, this time from Leningrad, gained the upper hand. They tried to apply to archaeology the ideas of the famous Soviet linguist Nikolaï Marr. According to Marr, a language could change by means of dialectical leaps or revolutions into another language at the same time as a socio-economic formation.[75] According to the

72 Aleksandr A. Formozov, "Arkheologiia i ideologiia (20–30-e gody)," *Voprosy filosofii* 2 (1993): 73; Klejn, *Fenomen*, 18; Anatoliĭ D. Priakhin, *Istoriia sovetskoĭ arkheologii, 1917–ser.30-kh gg.* (Voronezh: Izdatel'stvo Voronezhskogo universiteta, 1986), 11–23 and 46–68.

73 Priakhin, *Istoriia sovetskoĭ arkheologii*, 54–55.

74 Klejn, *Fenomen*, 18–19; Leo S. Klejn, *Istoriia arkheologicheskoĭ mysli.* T. 2 (Saint Petersburg: Izd-vo S.-Peterb. Un-ta, 2011), 12–13; Priakhin, *Istoriia sovetskoĭ arkheologii*, 109–122.

75 Before 1917, Nikolaï Marr (1865–1934) already had an accomplished academic career. He was a university professor, a member of the Imperial Academy, and was recognized as a leading figure in Caucasian Studies. In his quest for a noble origin for his mother tongue (Georgian), until then neglected by comparative linguistics, he came to the conclusion that that language was part of a linguistic family he called "Japhetic" after a main character in the Bible, the son of Noah. His conclusion did not succeed in convincing linguists who at that time worked within the paradigm of comparative linguistics. Disappointed, Marr questioned the paradigmatic basis of comparative linguistics. According to him, modern languages were not the result of the disintegration of a protolanguage. On the

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archaeological application of that approach, with the change of a formation or a socio-economic stage, the material culture and the ethnic group behind it changed as well.[76] The "stadial" approach, as this new set of ideas came to be known, confronted directly the rising nationalism in German archaeology. This is why some of them placed more emphasis on the idea that the ethnic groups of the past were ephemeral entities that changed radically from one stage to the next and therefore, there was no reason to seek ancestors for the present peoples. Some even denied the existence of a link between archaeological cultures and ethnic groups.[77]

In 1898, Aleksandr Spitsyn believed that the diffusion of a particular type of artefact over a certain territory indicated the geographical extent of a Slavic tribe. Less than 40 years later, the young Soviet archaeologist Pëtr Tret'iakov claimed that the same archaeological context showed that an ethnically heterogeneous population shared one and the same center of the production of goods.[78]

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contrary, at the beginning of humanity, there were a multitude of languages which over time "crossed" or "merged" into modern languages. In the 1920s in order to promote his theory, Marr added Marxist nuances. Thus, the emergence of new languages was based more on changing patterns of production, which took the form of "jumps" or "revolutions." Language was presented as a class attribute, enabling Marr to foresee that in the communist era, with the disappearance of classes, linguistic diversity would also disappear. In the 1920s and the first half of the following decade, the USSR was still promoting its internationalist policy based on the dream of proletarian revolution on a global scale. This is why the "new doctrine of language" was recognized by Party leaders as the only truly Marxist theory in linguistics. Nevertheless, Marr never succeeded in proposing a coherent text for his theory. In addition, he continuously adjusted its content. In the 1920s and 1930s, the style and content of his works became more and more absurd. According to several authors, this fact could be explained by his mental health problems. Vladimir M. Alpatov, *Istoriia odnogo mifa. Marr i marrizm* (Moscow: Nauka, 2011); Klejn, *Istoriia arkheologicheskoĭ mysli*, 9–11; Platonova, *Istoriia arkheologicheskoĭ mysli*, 254–255.

76 This is the context in which Soviet archaeologists began to criticize diffusionism and migration. Changes in archaeological cultures or new elements in a material culture were no longer explained by diffusion or new populations, but were regarded as the results of local changes, or "revolutions."

77 Bykovskiĭ, "Klassovaia sushchnost', 13; Formozov, "Arkheologiia i ideologiia," 74; Klejn, *Istoriia arkheologicheskoĭ mysli*, 18–21; Priakhin, *Istoriia sovetskoĭ arkheologii*, 131–140; Khudiakov, *Dorevoliutsionnaia*, 84–87; Viktor A. Shnirelman, "Zlokliucheniia odnoi nauki: ėtnogeneticheskie issledovaniia i stalinskaia natsional'naia politika," *Ėtnologicheskoe Obozrenie* 3 (1993): 53–58.

78 Aleksandr Spitsyn, "Razselenie drevne-russkikh plemen po arkheologicheskim dannym," *Zhurnal ministerstva narodnago prosveshcheniia* 324 (1899): 301–340; Pëtr N. Tret'iakov "Rasselenie Drevne-Russkikh plemen po arkkheologicheskim dannym," *Sovetskaia arkheologiia* 4 (1937): 33–51.

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Because Marr's figure was highly appreciated by the leaders of the Party, the approach of the archaeologists of Leningrad was officially abandoned only in 1950,[79] when Marr's theory was condemned by Stalin, because of its discordance with the new nationalist ideology of the Soviet state.[80] Even before that, however, several archaeologists did not adhere to the Marrist theory.[81] This seems to have been the case of those first Soviet archaeologists who, after the war, came to the MSSR. None of them made use of Marr's theory. Only Georgiĭ Smirnov, the first head of the archaeological sector of the Institute of History, Economics, Language and Literature of the MSSR, tried to take advantage of the official recognition of the "stadial" approach to put forward his own research topic.

2.3 *Towards an Archaeology of Ethnicities*

Beginning with the mid-1930s, but especially after the war, in the context of a revival of the nationalist discourse, archaeology in the Soviet Union became dominated by ethnic issues. Matters related to the ethnogenesis and the ancient history of the people in the Soviet Union, especially Russians, now

79 The transfer of this linguistic theory into the archaeological field was facilitated by one of Marr's functions, that of president of the first and most important Soviet archaeological institution, the Academy of History and Material Culture. Before 1917, Marr also had a short, but, according to some, fairly innovative archaeological experience. He was the first researcher of Ani, the former capital of Armenia. His archaeological investigations in Ani were considered to be methodologically innovative. His main goal was to uncover the entire surface of the city. He was more interested in the city's architecture than in its artefacts. The latter were still viewed at that time through the prism of antiquarianism. In 1915, for this research he received the Great Medal of Uvarov, the highest distinction offered by the Moscow Archaeological Society. He was also one of the first to study Armenian Vishapakar (megaliths, often in the form of a fish, which could reach up to 4.75 m in height). Mikhail I. Artamonov, "Trudy tovarishcha Stalina po voprosam iazykoznaniia i sovetskaia arkheologiia," *Sovetskaia arkheologiia* 15 (1951): 7–16; Aleksandr D. Udal'tsov, ed. *Protiv vul'garizatsii Marksizma v akheologii.* Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1953; Klejn, *Istoriia arkheologicheskoĭ mysli*, 5–11; Nadezhda I. Platonova, "Predsedateli GAIMK—Nikolaĭ Iakovlevich Marr i Fedor Vasil'evich Kiparisov," in *Traditsii rossiiskoi arkheologii*, ed., Vadim M. Masson and al. (Saint Petersburg: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Nauk, 1996), 50–54; Nadezhda I. Platonova, Nikolaĭ Iakovlevich Marr—arkheolog i arganizator arkheologicheskoĭ nauki," *Arkheologicheskie vesti* 5 (1998): 371–382; Nadezhda I. Platonova, "« Bezzakonnaia kometa na nauchnom nebosklone », N.Ia. Marr," *Znamenitye Universanty* 1 (2002): 156–178; Boris S. Ilizarov, *Pochetnyi akademik Stalin i akademik Marr* (Moscow: Veche, 2012), 75–81.

80 The change in the political context was not the only cause for the abandonment of the Marrist theory. It seems that through his critique, Stalin also wanted to reaffirm his authority as a Marxist theorist. Alpatov, *Istoriia odnogo mifa*, 168–190.

81 Klejn, *Fenomen*, 82.

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attracted most attention from archaeologists. Initially, some attempted, without any success, to adapt the "stadial" approach to the new agenda.[82]

In this context, Soviet archaeologists began to talk about the "retrospective" method.[83] According to that, each people or ethnic group had its own, unique "objects." A guide for excavations published in the 1950s for young archaeologists in the MSSR warned that "it is the climatic, geographical and raw material conditions that determine how a dwelling is built. The survival of a human community depends on the degree of perfection of its weapons and tools. That's why the best forms of weapons and tools are quickly taken by ethnically diverse human communities."[84] Therefore, such components of material culture did not contain any ethnic information. According to the same guide, archaeologists must focus more on

> traditional elements, which yield little to change and which reflect the psychic type, the aesthetic and cultural preferences of a community, namely the funeral rite, jewelry, and the most widespread material—the ceramics (especially ornaments, form, technique, etc.). Each of those elements may be present in different communities, but the presence of all three on the same site is almost always the correct indicator of whether this site belongs to the culture or the ethnic community for which these three elements are characteristic.[85]

Called "ethnographic" or "ethnic" indicators, those elements would unveil the ethnicity of a material or archaeological culture.

Armed with such indicators at their disposal, the authors of the guide believed that archaeologists were in a position to follow the traces of an ethnic group through various archaeological cultures back into prehistory. Identifying the presence of those indicators was sufficient, though it was recognized that in time the indicators in question underwent certain changes, and that their forms could evolve. This is why, like evolutionary biologists, archaeologists sought to identify transitional forms that contained both attributes of ancient and evolved forms.

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82 Florin Curta, "Considerații privind conceptul de caracter etnic (etnicitate) în arheologia contemporană," *Arheologia medievală* 4 (2002): 5–25; Klejn, *Fenomen*, 23–24; Shnirelman, "Zlokliucheniia odnoi nauki," 59–68.

83 Boris A. Rybakov, *Remeslo drevneĭ Rusi* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1948), 25.

84 *Instruktsiia po vedeniiu polevykh rabot* (Lucășeuca: Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Moldavskii Filial. Prutsko-Dnestrovskaia arkheologo-ėtnograficheskaia e ėkspeditsiia, 1957), 9.

85 *Instruktsiia*, 9.

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It must be said that the guide cited above did not reveal exactly how one was to identify the elements characteristic for any specific ethnicity. According to some, one had to locate them in an archaeological culture, the ethnic attribution of which was clearly ascertained through written and ethnographic sources.[86]

However, no study is known that followed those indications to the letter. Moreover, several Soviet archaeologists pointed out the difficulties they encountered when trying to identify such indicators. Following perhaps the example of certain Soviet ethnologists, they observed, for instance, that different ethnic groups living in the same geographical area and having the same type of economy may have the same type of material culture, such as the same type of jewelry, ceramic forms made with the same techniques, similar ornaments. Conversely, members of the same ethnic group living under different geographical conditions with different types of economy had different types of material culture.[87] In the early 1970s, Leningrad archaeologist Leo Klejn went as far as to dismiss the concept of "ethnic indicators" as analytically irrelevant. According to him, the impossibility of applying that concept was a function of the ambiguity of ethnicity, which according to some referred to a linguistic or cultural community, while according to others, it designated a group with the same biological origin. Still others emphasized the versatility of the term.[88]

Beginning with the mid-1960s, the term "ethnicity" occupied the center of all discussions among Soviet ethnologists. The meaning ultimately ascribed to the term "ethnic group" was different from that used by Spitsyn. Soviet ethnologists showed that the elements which were once seen as indispensable to perceiving a group of individuals as an ethnic group, namely the sharing

86 Pëtr N. Tret'iakov, "Arkheologicheskie kul'tury i ėtnicheskie obshchnosti," in *Teoreticheskie osnovy sovetskoĭ arkheologii*, ed., Akademiia Nauk SSSR (Leningrad: Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1969), 33.

87 Maksim G. Levin and Nikolaĭ N. Cheboksarov, "Khoziaistvenno-kul'turnye tipy i istoriko-etnograficheskie oblasti (K postanovke voprosa)," *Sovetskaia ėtnografiia* 4 (1955): 16; Koroliuk, "K issledovaniiam," 79; Aleksandr L. Mongajt, "Arkheologicheskie kul'tury i ėtnicheskie obshchnosti (k voprosu o metodike istoriko-arkheologicheskikh issledovaniĭ)," *Narody Azii i Afriki. Istoriia, Ekonomika, Kul'tura* 1 (1967): 60–61. It should also be noted that Soviet archaeologists have never been able to agree on the types of artefacts that should be treated as ethnic indicators. According to some, only the traces of the funeral rites should be taken into consideration. Others argued for the form of ceramics. Some even put forward the technique or the ornament of the ceramic. There were also those that limited the markers to weapons and utensils, the furnishing of houses, or works of art. Often these choices were not accompanied by any justification. Klejn, *Arkheologicheskaia tipologiia*, 146–147.

88 Leo S. Klejn, "Problema opredeleniia arkheologicheskoĭ kul'tury," *Sovetskaia arkheologiia* 2 (1970): 44–45.

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of the same language, inhabiting the same territory, and the practice of the same religion or culture, were not mandatory or as important as the awareness ("consciousness") of belonging to the same ethnic group.[89]

Although some archaeologists seemed to agree with the ethnologists, most continued to use the concept of "ethnic indicators," albeit in a rather random manner.[90]

It should be noted that some, believing that the ethnic indicators constituted the main challenge for the retrospective method, suggested that archaeologists no longer seek to identify them. According to such views, it was necessary to take an entire archaeological culture with an unquestionable ethnic attribution and compare all its components, types of habitat, dwellings, funerary rituals, artefacts, with those of earlier archaeological cultures. The identification of "genetic links" between those cultures, in other words, the existence of a clear resemblance between their components was an indication that they "belonged" to the same ethnic group.[91]

Because of the variety of views regarding the retrospective method, it was possible for the archaeologists of Soviet Moldova to question the Slavic character of the Cherniakhov archaeological culture, which was usually dated from the second to the fourth century. The interpretation of the Cherniakhov culture in the years 1950–1960 led to fierce debates. The absence of sufficiently similar resemblances between the Cherniakhov culture and the cultures dated to the sixth and the seventh century which were seen as undoubtedly Slavic, led the archaeologists of the MSSR to raise serious questions about its presumed attribution to the early Slavs.[92] However, the presence on Cherniakhov sites of certain type of pottery, presumably resembling the ceramics of the cultures of the sixth and seventh century, made it possible for the same archaeologists to assert that the Slavs were amongst the bearers of that culture. However, by virtue of using a ceramic type as an argument for the presence of a certain ethnic group, those archaeologists were in fact acknowledging the theoretical

89 Koroliuk, "K issledovaniiam," 82–83; Mongajt, "Arkheologicheskie kul'tury," 56.

90 Oleg M. Prikhodniuk, *Pen'kovskaia kul'tura. Kul'turno-khronologicheskii aspekt issledovanii* (Voronezh: Voronezhskii Universitet, 1998), 3–5; Irina P. Rusanova and Ėrast A. Symonovich, ed., *Slaviane i ikh sosedi v kontse I t. do n.e.–pervoi poloviny I tys. n.e.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1993), 6.

91 Ivan I. Liapushkin, *Slaviane vostochnoi Evropy nakanune obrazovaniia drevnerusskogo gosudarstva* (*VIII–pervaia polovina IX v.*). *Istoriko-arkheologicheskie ocherki* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1968), 26–27.

92 Ėmmanuil A. Rikman and Isak A. Rafalovich, "K voprosu o sootnosheniĭ cherniakhovskoi i ranneslavianskoĭ kul'tur v Dnestrovsko-Dunaiskom mezhdureche," *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta Arkheologii* 105 (1965): 42–57.

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relevance of the concept of "ethnic indicators." The archaeologists of the MSSR were not the only ones to do so.[93]

For the ethnic interpretation of archaeological sites of the MSSR, Soviet archaeologists used analogies. Artefacts and archaeological complexes discovered on the territory of the MSSR were compared with those from Ukraine or Western Russia, two regions that were believed to have been the core of medieval Rus(sia). According to those archaeologists, similarities observed between the Moldovan, Ukrainian and Russian archaeological sites showed that the Moldovan sites belonged to the Russians or to their ancestors, the Eastern Slavic tribes. In the next chapter, I will show that the Moldovan sites raised a few problems, for they did not always possess such similarities. Nonetheless, archaeologists labeled the sites of the MSSR as East Slavic.

2.4 *Was Moldovan Soviet Archaeology Marxist?*

After Stalin's death, he was condemned by Khrushchev for having distorted the Marxist-Leninist ideals. The true Marxist philosophy needed to be re-established, which the revival of interest among archaeologists in the socio-economic problem.[94] The discourse of Soviet archaeologists became Marxist again.[95] Moreover, until its last days, Soviet archaeology presented itself as a completely Marxist discipline.[96] However, according to analyses made after the fall of the USSR, especially in the case of Russian archaeological centers, the only serious and probably honest attempt to transform the archaeology of that country into a Marxist discipline was that of the 1920s. The Marxism of Soviet archaeology was reduced to citations from Marx, Engels, and Lenin in

93 Klejn, "Problema opredeleniia," 46.

94 Klejn, *Fenomen*, 24–28.

95 Sergeĭ N. Bibikov, "Nekotorye aspekty paleoekonomicheskogo modelirovaniia paleolita," *Sovetskaia arkheologiia* 4 (1969): 5–22; Vladimir F. Gening, *Ob'ekt i predmet nauki v arkheologii* (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1983), 38–40; Aleksandr M. Reshetov, ed., *Okhotniki, sobirateli, rybolovy. Problemy sotsial'no-ėkonomicheskikh otnosheniĭ v dozemledel'cheskom obshchestve* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1972). Some special events prompted Soviet archaeologists to return to a more Marxist discourse. For example, the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR, "On the Preparation of the 100th Anniversary of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin" of 1968, emphasized the importance for Soviet society to continue to develop the Marxist-Leninist theory. Soon after, the archaeologists published their answer to the request of the Party as *Teoreticheskie osnovy sovetskoĭ arkheologii, tezisy dokladov na teoreticheskom seminare LOIA AN SSSR* (Leningrad: Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1969).

96 Vadim M. Masson, "XXVII s'ezd KPSS i perspektivy teoreticheskikh razrabotok v istorii i arkheologii," in *Teoreticheskie problemy sovremennoi arkheologii*, ed., Vadim M. Masson and al. (Kishinev: Akademiia Nauk SSSR/Akademiia Nauk MSSR, 1988), 1–4.

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specialized works, often with no relation either to the subject or to the methodology that was used.[97]

Moldovan archaeology followed the same trend. According to archival documents, in the 1960s, Moldovan archaeologists had to take part in the study of the causes that triggered the change of socio-economic formations. A report of activity for the year 1966 asserted that archaeologists had fulfilled that task.[98] However, there is nothing in the existing record to verify that assertion.

During the 1970s and 1980s, the same problem was to be studied under the aegis of a committee created within the framework of the Institute of History of the Moldovan Academy of Sciences. However, it seems that its activity was not very successful. The only significant contribution of that committee was the publication of a collective volume which included two archaeological articles, one of which was on a subject that had nothing in common with the task of the committee.[99]

The titles of certain collective volumes such as *The History of the Moldovan SSR Economy from Antiquity to 1812*, or *The Socio-Economic and Political History of South-Eastern Europe during the Mid-Nineteenth Century* are clearly misleading.[100] Even if some archaeologists had a genuine interest in economic issues or modes of production, the real problem emerging from such publications was ethnicity. Nor are there any traces of the Marxist vocabulary or of citations from the "classics of Marxism-Leninism."

Moldovan Soviet archaeology was never a Marxist science. Its representatives never developed or used a Marxist or Marxist-inspired methodology. The efforts of Moldovan archaeologists and their colleagues from the other Soviet republics who participated in archaeological excavations in the MSSR, with a

97 Klejn, *Fenomen*, 70–78; Leo S. Klejn, *Trudno byt' Kleinom. Avtobiografiia v monologakh i dialogakh* (Saint Petersburg: Nestor-Istoriia, 2008), 300–310; Klejn, *Istoriia arkheologicheskoĭ mysli*, 21–22.

98 *Otchet o nauchnoĭ i nauchno-organizatsionnoĭ deiatel'nosti v 1965 godu.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1, Nr. 207, 1965); *Informatsionnyĭ otchet o nauchnoĭ i nauchno organizatsionnoĭ deiatel'nosti Instituta istorii AN MSSR za 1966 god.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1, Nr. 224, 1966).

99 Vladimir D. Koroliuk and al., ed., *Sotsial'no-ėkonomicheskaia i politicheskaia istoriia Iugo-Vostochnoi Evropy, do serediny XIX v.* (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1980); Lazar' L. Polevoĭ, "O khoziaistvenno-kul'turnom tipe Volokhov," in *Sotsial'no-ėkonomicheskaia i politicheskaia istoriia Iugo-Vostochnoi Evropy* (*do serediny XIX v.*), ed., Vladimir D. Koroliuk and al. (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1980), 44–62; Isak A. Rafalovich, "Romanizovannoe naselenie nizhnego podunav'ia nakanune slavianskoĭ kolonizatsii," in *Sotsial'no-ėkonomicheskaia i politicheskaia istoriia Iugo-Vostochnoi Evropy* (*do serediny XIX v.*), ed., Vladimir D. Koroliuk and al. (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1980), 8–28.

100 Pavel V. Sovetov and al., ed., *Istoriia narodnogo khoziaistva Moldavskoĭ SSR, s drevneishikh vremen do 1812 g.* (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1976); Koroliuk and al., ed., *Sotsial'no-ėkonomicheskaia i politicheskaia istoriia.*

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few exceptions, were directed towards shaping an ethno-political history of that territory.[101]

3 The Conquest of a New Territory: The Beginnings of Slavic Archaeology in the MSSR

3.1 *On the Eve of Slavic Archaeology*

The nineteenth century witnessed in nationalist and pan-Slavic Russia the birth of Slavic or Slavo-Russian archaeology, that is to say the archaeology, which had as its main task the identification and study of material remains of ancient Slavs and medieval Rus(sians). Amateurs turned professionals of the new paradigm thanks to their multiple excavations, but also the first professional archaeologists began the search for the material traces of their ancestors.[102] In this sense, the case of Vikentiĭ Khvoika is emblematic. Born in Bohemia in 1876, Khvoika left his country to settle in Russia, in Kiev, where for a short time he taught German and painting. For some time, he made a rather successful career in agronomy. Despite that, Khvoika decided to abandon everything and devote himself to archaeology, an occupation that he pursued for the remainder of his life. Visibly inspired by pan-Slavic ideals, Khvoika searched for the material traces of the ancient Slavs in the region of the Middle Dnieper, especially around Kiev.[103] The main thesis of his activity as archaeologist was that the population in that region was Slavic since the end of the

101 This is above all evident in the studies on the Stone Age, particularly the Palaeolithic. The main tasks of the Moldovan specialists in this field were to develop typologies and to date artefacts. [Ilie] Il'ia A. Borziak and al., *Poseleniia drevnekamennogo veka na severo-zapade Moldavii* (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1981); [Ilie] Il'ia A. Borziak, ed., *Moldavskoe Podnestrov'e v pervobytnuiu ėpokhu* (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1987); [Nicolae Chetraru] Nikolaĭ A. Ketraru, *Pamiatniki epokh Paleolita i mezolita* (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1973).

102 Aleksandr N. Golotvin, "Samokvasov i razvitie slaviano-russkoi arkheologii," *Vestnik Voronezhskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta/Seriia: Lingvistika i mezhkul'turnaia kommunikatsiia* 2/2 (2007): 173–178; Viktotiia A. Kolesnikova, *Storinki zhittia Vikentiia Khvoĭki* (Kiev: Institut arkheologii NAN Ukrainy, 2008); Lebedev, *Istoriia otechestvennoĭ arkheologii*, 62–172 and 247–252; Sergeĭ P. Shchavelėv, *Istorik russkoi zemli. Zhizn' i trudy D.Ia. Samokvasova* (Kursk: Izdatel'stvo Kurskogo meditsynskogo Universiteta, 1998).

103 Ivan Cherniakov, *Vikentiĭ Khvoika, 1850–1914* (Kiev: Arkhetip, 2006), 16–17; Kolesnikova, *Storinki zhittia*, 13–14; Florin Curta, "With brotherly love: the Czech beginnings of Medieval archaeology in Bulgaria and Ukraine," in *Manufacturing Middle Ages, Entangled History of Medievalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed., Patrick J. Geary and Gábor Klaniczay (Leiden-Boston: BRILL, 2013), 377–396.

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Neolithic period.[104] Considered one of the pioneers of Slavic archaeology, he was also the first archaeologist in Russia to push the history of the Slavs so far back into prehistory. Although at the time, his ideas had many critics, Khovika's theories found adherents in the Russian archaeological circles.[105]

Russian intellectuals at the time regarded Bessarabia, if not the entire territory of the former Principality of Moldavia, as part of the ancestral lands of the Slavs and even Rus(sians). At times, even the Romanian-speaking population of the region was viewed as partially or entirely Slavic.[106] Pan-Slavic ideology, as well as Russian expansionism and nationalism, contributed greatly to the popularization of such views. It must be emphasized, however, that certain traits of the Romanian civilization seemed to support that theory. Romanians were (and still are) Orthodox Christians of (Old Church) Slavonic expression, and their language has a large vocabulary of Slavic origin (despite being a Romance language). Moreover, the Romanian medieval culture has an unmistakable Slavonic aspect. In the Orthodox churches of Moldavia and Walachia, as well as of Transylvania, the liturgy was long celebrated in Slavonic, most institutions in Moldavia and Wallachia had Slavic names, and charters in both countries were also written in Slavonic. The presence of a large Slavophone community, especially in medieval Moldavia, which is clearly documented in the written sources, as well as numerous place names of Slav(on)ic origin contributed to a general perception of Romanians and their lands as being Slavic.[107]

However, until the end of the Second World War, with a few exceptions, no scholar studying Slavic archaeology seems to have been interested in Bessarabia.[108] This situation can be explained by the socio-cultural and political conjuncture in which the new branch of Russian archaeology was defined.

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104 Vikentiĭ V. Khvoika, *Drevnie obitateli sredniago pridneprov'ia i ikh kul'tura v doistoricheskia vremena, po raskopkam* (Kiev: Tipografiia "T-va E.A. Sin'kovich", 1913).

105 His youngest contemporary, the archaeologist of St. Petersburg, Aleksandr Spitsyn, believed that "thanks to the persevering and successful excavations undertaken by Vikentiĭ Khvoika in the province of Kiev, we have facts which will undoubtedly be destined to have a great impact for the archaeological study of the Slavic problem." Spitsyn, "Razselenie," 302. I shall show below that Khvoika's view of Slavic archaeology inspired Soviet archaeologists.

106 In fact, at the time, all Romanians were perceived in this way, even those of Wallachia and Transylvania. Iu. Stamati, "Les Slaves et la genèse des Roumains et de leurs États selon la tradition historiographique russe, de la chronique Voskresenskaja à Lev Berg," in *The Steppe Lands and the World Beyond Them: Studies in Honor of Victor Spinei on his 70th Birthday*, ed., Florin Curta and Bogdan-Petru Maleon (Jassy: Editura Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza", 2013), 779–794.

107 Stamati, "Entre l'internationalisme," 361–363; Stamati, "Les Slaves," 780 and 784–786.

108 Nikolaĭ Nadezhdin, "O mestopolozhenii drevnego goroda Peresechna, prinadlezhavshevo narodu Uglicham'," *Zapiski Odesskogo Obshchestva* 1 (1844): 243–256.

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Despite the activity of Khvoika, and that of other Russian archaeologists, in the early twentieth century, Slavic archaeology was in its infancy. At the time, despite the increasing interest in the problematic of Slavic archaeology, the political power and other organizations which could have supported such an undertaking did not manifest any substantial interest in the matter. Russian society was still under the spell of Classical archaeology.[109] Moreover, at the time the most active archaeological organization in Bessarabia was the Historical and Antiquity Society of Odessa, the defined goal of which was the study of the material remains of Classical Antiquity. The interest in that period of world history was so great a company came into being in Odessa which specialized in forging Classical antiques. Several museums in the world, including the Louvre, were duped into buying such "masterpieces."[110] Therefore, it was primarily the extraordinary popularity of Classical antiques that slowed down the development of Slavic archaeology.

That sub-field of Russian archaeology took off in earnest only in the mid-1930s, with a brief interruption during the Second World War. I will return to those developments. For the moment, it is important to note that the Bolshevik coup, the Civil War and the anti-nationalist policy of the Bolshevik power had a great role in preventing Slavic archaeology from becoming mainstream.

Among the small number of works dealing Slavic archaeology that were published at the time, the book of Iuriĭ Got'e, an important historian with an interest in archaeology, is perhaps the most important.[111] Got'e believed the Uliches and the Tivertsy, two tribes mentioned in the Russian Primary Chronicle, had lived in Bessarabia and in the Ukrainian region of Podolia. According to him, "we could consider it a great scientific achievement if it would be possible to identify by archaeological studies the regions formerly occupied by the Uliches and the Tivertsy; but we are still very far from that."[112] Got'e was right.

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109 Cherniakov, *Vikentiĭ Khvoika*, 36–37. It is for this reason that often those who were interested in the ancient Slavic and Russian material remains had to place a strong emphasis in their demands for subsidies on the fact that their artefacts were no less beautiful or less important from an artistic or pecuniary point of view from those from Greco-Roman and Scythian-Sarmate sites. Shchavelëv, *Istorik russkoi zemli*, 77.

110 Chetraru, *Din istoria arheologiei*, 67–71 and 92.

111 Iuriĭ V. Got'e, *Zheleznyi vek v vostochnoi Evrope* (Moscow-Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1930).

112 Got'e, *Zheleznyi vek*, 224–225. Undoubtedly, Got'e himself sincerely believed that this problem was of a serious scholarly matter. However, I believe that his interest in the matter was less scholarly. His vocational training took place between 1891–1895, at a time when Russian Slavists, strongly influenced by the national paradigm and pan-Slavic ideals, were still at home in the Russian universities. The fact that pan-Slavism and Russian patriotism guided Got'e intellectual orientation is beyond doubt. His diary, written

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In Bessarabia, the search for the archaeological traces of those tribes, as well as of the Slavs in general had not come yet. Got'e did not live to see his aspiration fulfilled. He died in 1943, before the end of World War II. It was only after that that the study of the Slavs began to take shape in what used to be Bessarabia.

3.2 *The First Investigations by Soviet Slavicist Archaeologists on the Territory of the MSSR*

According to the Bolshevik propaganda of the 1920s, Russian nationalism was responsible for the exploitation and under-development of the non-Russian ethnic groups of the former empire. Because the young Bolshevik state presented itself as a strong fighter against oppression, including ethnic oppression, a campaign against Russian nationalism was put into place. Formulations such as "the Russian people" or "the history of Russia" were perceived as sufficient proof of nationalist attitudes. The ethnographers' desire to carry out studies on the Russians was equally perceived as tainted with nationalist ideas. Slavic studies were treated as a tool that Russian imperialism used to justify its expansionist policy.[113] Linked since their inception to the political ideals of pan-Slavism, Slavic studies were in direct contradiction to the Party's internationalist policy. The export of the proletarian revolution was not intended solely for the Slavic peoples.[114]

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secretly in the first five years of the Bolshevik regime, testified to that. In his diary, Got'e expressed regrets for Russia, for the country's future, and, especially, for the lack of patriotism of its inhabitants, the latter being one of the causes that, according to him, explained the disaster of his homeland. For Got'e, the arrival of the Bolsheviks meant the end of Slavic Studies, including that of "this beloved and enlightening ideology," namely pan-Slavism. Iuriĭ V. Got'e, *Moi zametki*, ed., T. Emmons and S. Utekhin (Moscow: «Terra»–«Terra», 1997), 19.

113 This does not mean that linguistic studies, history, and archaeology of the Slavs, Russians, and Russia disappeared completely. I have already noted the appearance at this time of Iuriĭ Got'e's works. See also: Aleksandr Spitsyn, "Drevnosti antov," in *Sbornik statii v chest' Akademika Alekseia Ivanovicha Sobolevskogo izdannyi k dniu 70-letiia so dnia rozhdeniia Akademiiu nauk po pochinu ego uchenikov*, ed., V.I. Perets (Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1928), 492–495; Viacheslav F. Rzhiga, *Ocherki iz istorii byta do-mongol'skoi Rusi* (Moscow: Mospoligraf, 1929); Artemiĭ V. Artsikhovskiĭ, *Kurgany viatichei* (Moscow: RANION, 1930).

114 Shnirelman, "Zlokliucheniia odnoi nauki," 54; Iuriĭ V. Krivosheev and Andreĭ Iu. Dvornichenko, *"Izgnanie nauki: rossiiskaia istoriografiia v 20-kh nachale 30-kh godov XX veka," Otechestvennaia istoriia* 3 (1994): 146–153; Andreĭ N. Gorianov, "Slavianskaia vzaimnost' v traktovke sovetskoĭ istoriografii 1920–1930-kh godov," in *Slavianskaia ideia: istoriia i sovremennost'*, ed., Vladimir A. D'iakov (Moscow: Logos, 1998), 147–159; Elena P. Aksenova, "Slavianskaia ideia i sovetskoe slavianovedenie pered Vtoroi mirovoi voiny," in *Slavianskaia ideia: istoriia i sovremennost'*, ed., V.A. D'iakov (Moscow: Logos, 1998), 160–173; Elena P. Aksenova, *Ocherki iz istorii otechestvennogo slavianovedeniia: 1930-e gody*

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In the mid-1930s, when Stalin set up the Soviet patriotic discourse on a Russian and pan-Slavic cultural base, the situation changed.[115] In this new ideological context, the ethnogenesis of the Slavs, especially the Eastern Slavs, the identification of their ancestral territories, their way of life, the appearance of Slavic states, as well as the study of the towns of medieval Rus' came to occupy the first position on the research agenda of the Soviet archaeologists.[116] Khvoika's ideas, mostly abandoned after 1917, were now resurrected. For several decades, they were a source of inspiration for a large number of Soviet archaeologists studying the Slavs.[117]

After the war, such developments continued. Slavic archaeology was a research priority for the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.[118] In the new territories occupied after the war by the USSR, the archaeological study of the Slavs was meant to justify the occupation. That was the case, for example, in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.[119] In those new Soviet republics, immediately after

(Moscow: In-t slavianovedeniia RAN, 2000); Mikhail A. Robinson, *Sud'ba akademicheskoi ėlity: Otechestvennoe slavianovedenie, 1917–nachalo 1930-x godov* (Moscow: Indrik, 2004).

115 Terry Martin, an American historian, believes that the coloring of tats discourse in Russian-speaking shades constituted, among other things, a kind of gratitude to the Soviet nation, which Stalin believed he could trust the most, a nation that he saw as the most progressive and revolutionary of all. Martin Terry *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union 1923–1939* (Ithaca-Londres: Cornell University Press, 2001), 394–431.

116 Artemiĭ V. Artsikhovskiĭ, "V zashchitu letopisei i kurganov (Otvet na stat'iu P.N. Tret'iakova «Rasselenie drevne-russkikh plemen po arkheologicheskim dannym»)," *Sovetskaia arkheologiia* 4 (1937): 53–61; Florin Curta, "From Kossinna to Bromley: ethnogenesis in Slavic archaeology," in *On Barbarian Identity. Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages*, ed., Andrew Gillett (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 207–210; Ivan I. Liapushkin, "Materialy k izucheniiu iugo-vostochnykh granits vostochnykh slavian VIII–X vv.," *Materialy i issledovaniia Instituta Istorii material'noĭ kul'tury* 12 (1946): 117–127; Boris A. Rybakov, "Mesto slaviano-russkoi arkheologii v sovetskoĭ istoricheskoi nauke," *Sovetskaia arkheologiia* 4 (1957): 58; Shnirelman, "Zlokliucheniia odnoi nauki," 58–68; Shnirelman, "From internationalism," 129–138; Shnirelman, "The faces," 233–236; Tret'iakov "Rasselenie," 3–51; Pëtr N. Tret'iakov, "Vostochno-slavianskie plemena v svete arkheologicheskikh issledovaniĭ poslednikh let," *Kratkie soobshcheniia instituta istorii material'noĭ kul'tury* 13 (1946): 39–44; Nikolaĭ Voronin, "Razvitie slaviano-russkoi arkheologii v SSSR," *Slaviane* 7 (1948): 28.

117 Cherniakov, *Vikentiĭ Khvoika*, 99–166; Kolesnikova, *Storinki zhittia*, 68–69.

118 Nikolaĭ G. Bruevich, "O plane nauchno-issledovatel'skikh rabot Akademii nauk na 1946 god," in *Obshchee sobranie Akademii nauk SSSR 15–19 ianvaria 1946 goda*, ed., Akademiia Nauk SSSR (Moscow-Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1946), 137–138.

119 For some details regarding the ideological connections of the Slavic research issue in the Baltic states after their annexation by the USSR, see Priit Ligi, "National Romanticism in Archaeology: The Paradigm of Slavonic colonization in North-West Russia," *Fennoscandia archaeologica* X (1993): 31–39; Priit Ligi, "'Active Slavs' and 'Passive Finns': a Reply," *Fennoscandia archaeologica* XI (1994): 104–112; Giedrius Puodžiūnas, and Algirdas Girininkas,

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the war, archaeologists began to look for material remains to prove the existence of positive relations between native populations in the Baltic area and the Eastern Slavs. For Estonia, it would have "very convincingly" demonstrated that since the sixth century the ancestors of the Estonians and the ancient Slavs had developed "intense, stable and peaceful relations," and that at the time of the appearance and development of the Rus' state, these relations became even tighter. In Latvia, the main archaeological institution included in its research plans a "still poorly studied but very important subject," namely the ethnogenesis of the Latvians and their relations with the Slavs. Latvian archaeologists were already aware that Slavic culture had influenced Latvian culture and that "particularly close trade relations" between their ancestors and the Slavs had begun in the eleventh century. In the case of Lithuania, the idea was put forward that the "fusion" of the ancestors of the Lithuanians and the Slavs led to the appearance of the Lithuanian state in the thirteenth century. It was also hoped that the results of excavations undertaken after the war by the archaeologists of that republic, in collaboration with Soviet-Russian specialists, would allow, as in the case of Latvia, the study of the ethnogenesis of Lithuanians and of their relations with the Slavs.[120] Similar tasks were set for archaeologists in the North Caucasus region, who were to identify the date at which the Slavs appeared in the region, and to define the nature of the relationships between the Slavs and the indigenous population.[121]

Equally politically charged were the circumstances in which the search for the Slavs began in MSSR. However, it would be a mistake to regard the archaeologists responsible for that research as ideological agents in the service of the Party. Soviet archaeologists started from the premise that the Slavs were already mentioned in the written sources as inhabiting in the past the territory of the MSSR. There is therefore a great deal of overlap between scholarly and political concerns in the initial stages of the archaeological study of the Slavs in the MSSR.

"Nationalism doubly oppressed: archaeology and nationalism in Lithuania," in *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe*, ed., Margarita Diaz-Andreu and Timothy Champion (London: UCL Press Limited, 1996), 252–253; Ester Oras, "Contemporary Polities and Archaeology of Ethnicity in the Baltic Countries: Paradigms of History Writing, State Politics and Personalities in the Tradition of Archaeological Research," *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 27.2 (2012): 121–123.

120 Georgiĭ B. Fedorov, "Za peredovuiu sovetskuiu arkheologiiu Pribaltiki (Sessiia IIMK AN SSSR, posveshchennaia izucheniiu arkheologii Pribaltiki)," *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta istorii material'noĭ kul'tury* 29 (1949): 129–134.

121 Evgeniĭ I. Krupnov, "O sostoianii i zadachakh izucheniia arkheologii Kavkaza," *Kratkie soobshcheniia o dokladakh i polevykh issledovaniiakh Instituta Istorii Material'noĭ kul'tury* 60 (1955): 12.

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Be that as it may, in 1946, when the systematic Soviet archaeological studies began, the discovery of the first Slavic remains had already been announced. The following year, the research continued. This time, it was carried out by a team especially created to accomplish that task.[122] The results, particularly the discovery "within the limits of the Moldovan SSR," of ancient Slavic towns and villages, was brought to the attention of the public throughout the country.[123] The popularization of those new discoveries was also made through the exhibit entitled "The Slavs on the territory of Moldova," and scheduled for the year 1949.[124]

In the plans and reports of the archaeologists who carried out those initial investigations, the MSSR was declared "very rich in Slavic remains."[125] The presence of the Slavic topic in those plans was justified by its importance for clarifying the beginnings of the history of the Slavic peoples, and resolving the question of Moldovan ethnogenesis.[126] The plenary meeting of the assembly of the main archaeological institution in the country, the Institute of the History of Material Culture of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, regarded the excavations carried out at that time in the MSSR, Ukraine, Belarus and the Baltic Republics as of "exceptional importance for the resolution of questions concerning the genesis and history of the Eastern Slavs and their neighbors."[127]

Despite such declarations, in 1948 and 1949, Georgiĭ Smirnov, at the time the main archaeologist in Kishinev, pointed out the delay and even the lack of funds for the archaeological research of MSSR. He also deplored problems related to transportation and equipment needed for field research. The lack of funds was notably invoked to justify the absence of any serious research on

122 Petr I. Zasurtsev, "Slavianskie poselenia v Moldavii," *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta Istorii Material'noĭ kul'tury AN SSSR* 27 (1949): 102–103; Smirnov and Polevoĭ, "Arkheologiia Moldavii," 73.

123 Boris D. Grekov, "Vstupitel'noe slovo," *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta Istorii Material'noĭ kul'tury imeni N. Ia Marra* 26 (1949): 4.

124 "Plan raboty Respublikanskogo Muzeia Kraevedeniia MSSR na 1950 god," in *Tematicheskiĭ plan, 1950 g.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1/1, Nr. 21, 1950).

125 "Ob'iasnitel'naia zapiska k planu 1950 goda Instituta istorii, iazyka i literatury Moldavskogo filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR," in *Otchet o nauchnoĭ deiatel'nosti moldavskoĭ bazy AN SSSR za pervoe polugodie, 1949 g.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1/1, Nr. 11, 1949).

126 "Ob'iasnitel'naia zapiska k planu arkheologicheskikh issledovaniĭ na 1947 god," in *Tematicheskie plany nauchno-issledovatel'skoĭ raboty na 1947 g. instituta i sektotov Moldavskoĭ Nauchno-issledovatel'skoĭ bazy AN SSSR*. (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1/1, Nr. 3. 1947); "Ob'iasnitel'naia zapiska k planu 1950 goda."

127 "Rezoliutsiia sessii otdeleniia istorii i filosofii AN SSSR i plenuma IIMK AN SSSR, posviashchennykh itogam polevykh issledovaniĭ za 1946–1950 gody," *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta Istorii Material'noĭ kul'tury* 44 (1952): 135.

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Slavic towns in Moldova undertaken in 1948 and 1949.[128] The scarcity of financial resources was of course a function of the general situation of the country. After all, USSR had just emerged from a war with a considerably weakened economy. Archaeology was therefore not the priority of the Soviet regime. It is important to note, however, that financial difficulties did not seem to have had a similar impact on the other archaeological sub-fields in Moldova. In 1948 and 1949, Smirnov, who, as already mentioned, was a specialist in the study of the Scythians, continued his research unhindered.[129] Moreover, the study of Scythians seems to have been privileged at that time in the MSSR, and clearly preferred over the study of the Slavs. For example, in 1947, the amount of money spent for one month of excavations on Scythian sites was 24,610 rubles, but only 13,480 rubles for Slavic sites.[130] I believe that the difference is largely the result of Smirnov's personal efforts of privileging Scythian archaeology. The absence of Slavic archaeologists truly interested in associating their professional careers with the territory of the MSSR also explains such a temporary retreat from the study of the (early) Slavs. It should be noted that the issue had no repercussions on Moldovan Soviet historiography of the time. In 1947, the leadership of the Moldovan Communist Party instructed historians to write a history handbook for the MSSR.[131] In 1949, the model for the book was ready, and the idea of the historical affiliation of the MSSR to the Eastern Slavic world was one of its main themes.[132]

As a matter of fact, in 1949, Smirnov seemed ready to start investigating the Slavic problem. But that was most likely only a strategy to privilege the study of the subject of his specialization, namely the archaeological study of the Scythians.

3.3 *Georgiĭ Smirnov and the Slavic Problem*

There was only one topic in the activity plan that Georgiĭ Smirnov drafted for his sector in 1948: the study of the towns and villages of the Scythians. That plan, however, was not approved of his superiors. Smirnov was advised to

128 "Otchet Instituta istorii, iazyka i literatury za ves' 1949 g.," in *Otchet o nauchnoĭ deiatel'nosti moldavskoĭ bazy AN SSSR za pervoe polugodie, 1949 g.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1/1, Nr. 11, 1949).

129 "Otchet Instituta istorii, iazyka i literatury za ves' 1949 g."

130 "Smeta raskhodov po arkheologicheskim ėkspeditsiiam, s uchastiem Instituta istorii material'noĭ kul'tury im. Marra An SSSR na 1947 g.," in *Tematicheskie plany nauchno-issledovatel'skoĭ raboty na 1947 g. instituta i sektotov Moldavskoĭ Nauchno-issledovatel'skoĭ bazy AN SSSR*. (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1/1, Nr. 3. 1947).

131 Nikolaĭ A. Mokhov, "Proekt plana uchebnika po istorii Moldavii," *Ucheenye zapiski Moldavskoĭ Nauchno-Issledovatel'skoĭ Bazy AN SSSR* 2 (1949): 241.

132 Gheorghe Negru, "Etnogeneza românilor de la est de Prut în istoriografia sovietică," *Revista de Istorie a Moldovei* 1/25 (1996): 55–56.

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FIGURE 1 Georgiĭ Smirnov (1903–1978)
VALENTIN DERGACIOV, *INSTITUTUL DE ARHEOLOGIE ŞI ISTORIE VECHE\INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANCIENT HISTORY* (CHISINAU: ŞTIINŢA, 1992)

include also the problems of "Paleolithic, Neolithic, Bronze Age, Slavic, and Middle Ages."[133] However, he did not abandon his desire to put forward the subject closest to his heart, namely the study of the Scythians.

At that time, Soviet historians believed that the Scythians were Slavs, or at least their direct ancestors. Such ideas were in part derived from the pan-Slavic and Russian ideology, and in part from Marr's linguistic theory, or rather the

133 "Protokol № 12 nauchno-tekhnicheskogo soveshchaniia Moldavskoĭ Nauchno-Issledovatel'skoĭ Bazy Akademii Nauk SSSR," in *Protokoly nauchno-tekhnicheskikh soveshchianii, 1947 god.* (AAŞRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1, Nr. 2, 1947).

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archaeological version of his theory adapted to nationalist ideology reintroduced by Stalin. According to tats version, modern peoples were indigenous to the territories in which they currently lived. Peoples recorded as living in those same territories at different historical moments were regarded as ancestors of the modern inhabitants. The Russians or Ukrainians who inhabited the ancient territories of the Scythians would therefore have to be their descendants. Developing this argument was the responsibility of several well established Soviet historians, but the idea was not accepted unanimously.[134] Boris Grakov, who contributed to the professional training of Georgiĭ Smirnov, was one of those who opposed it.[135]

As for Smirnov himself, there is no convincing evidence of his attitude, although he seems to have decided to take advantage of the historiographical context. In 1949, after having been advised by his superiors to introduce into his plan of work other problems than that of the Scythians, he tried to justify the necessity of studying those ancient tribes by means of highlighting their importance for the ethnogenesis of Slavs and Moldovans.[136] Because Smirnov thought he had identified Scythian remains in the MSSR—according to him the territory of that republic was the southwestern borderland of ancient Scythia—he concluded that the investigations carried out on his favorite subject, that is, to say the Scythians, would also contribute to the research on the ethnogenesis of the ancient Slavs, therefore of the modern inhabitants of the MSSR, that is to say, the Moldovans.[137] Eventually, Smirnov studied some sites he believed to be of Scythian origin, but which were later reinterpreted as belonging to Geto-Dacians (supposed ancestors of the Moldovans). Moreover, he

134 Nikolaĭ S. Derzhavin, *Proiskhozhdenie russkogo naroda. Velikorusskogo, ukrainskogo, belorusskogo* (Moscow: Sovetskaia nauka, 1944), 11–16; Semen A. Semenov-Zuser, *Skifskaia problema v otechestvennoĭ nauke, 1692–1947* (Kharkiv: Khar'kovskii Gosudarstvennyi Universitet imeni A.M. Gor'kogo, 1947).

135 Nadezhda N. Pogrebova, "Sostoianie problem skifo-sarmatskoi arkheologii k konferentsii IIMK ANSSSR 1952 g.," in *Voprosy Skifo-sarmatskoi arkheologii* (*po materialam konferentsii IIMK AN SSSR 1952 g.*), ed., Dmitriĭ B. Shelov (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1954), 5–6.

136 On the other hand, in his articles published before 1951 we found no evidence of his adherence to the Marrist theory. Smirnov, "Mii de ani"; Georgiĭ D. Smirnov, "O chem govoriat kurgany i drevnie gorodishcha," *Sovetskaia Moldaviia*, June 21, 1947; Georgiĭ D. Smirnov, "Itogi arkheologicheskikh issledovaniĭ v Moldavii v 1946 godu," *Uchenye zapiski* 2 (1949): 189–201.

137 Georgiĭ D. Smirnov, "Programma raboty po teme 'Skifskie selishcha i gorodishcha podnestrov'ia'," in *Tematicheskiĭ plan nauchno-issledovatel'skikh rab. na 1949.* (AAŞRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1/1, Nr. 12, 1949).

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remained in the history of Moldovan archaeology as the first to have excavated in Orheiul Vechi, an imposing archaeological site of the medieval period.[138]

The archaeological research on the Slavs on the territory of the MSSR began in earnest only in the early 1950s and came to be associated with another archaeologist.

Conclusions

This chapter was divided into three sections dealing respectively with the history of Moldovan archaeology, its theoretical framework, and the beginnings of Slavic archaeology in the MSSR. In the first section I have showed that the first descriptions and attempts to elucidate the origin of the remains belonging to the ancient civilizations located in Bessarabia date back to the eighteenth century. I have also noted that the first archaeological surveys were carried out in this area in the mid-nineteenth century, and were linked to the collection and study of "classical antiques." Some local people and societies were involved, but until the First World War, the Odessa History and Antiquity Society was the most active. At the time when Bessarabia was part of the Romanian Kingdom, the archaeological activity on its territory continued. Prehistoric sites, classical Antiquity, and the Middle Ages were studied there.

Regarding the MASSR, according to some information that for now is not yet confirmed, in the early 1930s, archaeological studies were conducted by a team of Ukrainian archaeologists. A single archaeological campaign with rather limited results was also conducted by one of the local museums. The Moldovan Scientific Committee also included archaeological research in its activity plans, but it seems that they were never carried out, because the institution mostly focused on the contemporary history and on the Moldovan language. The lack of specialists, as well as the Stalinist repression affected the Committee and also contributed to this state of affairs.

Moldovan archaeology came into being after the Second World War with archaeologists from Russian and Ukrainian research centers. An archaeological sector was created in 1946 within the Moldovan Institute of History, Economics, Language and Literature. In that same year, an archaeological sector began its activity within the Central Research Museum of the MSSR.

I have noted the subjection of Moldovan archaeology to the Archaeological Institute in Moscow, and explained the Russian appearance of Moldovan archaeology in terms of the major role that Russian and Ukrainian archaeologists

138 Vladimir Levin and Vladimir Orlov, "Put' k Orkheiu," *Vokrug sveta* 11 (1972): 7–11.

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had in the process of its institutionalization, of the fact that Russian was the main language in which the archaeologists were educated, and that, as a whole, these locally-born archaeologists were probably not very attached to a national ideology.

In the second part, I have noted that the theoretical framework of the Moldovan Soviet archaeology originated in the Russian archaeological literature of the Tsarist era. Since the late nineteenth century, the Russian archaeologist Spitsyn, under the influence of the nationalist paradigm, examined the possibility of identifying ethnic traces in the archaeological material. The analysis of that question was pursued during the first years after the Bolshevik coup of 1917. The situation changed in the mid-1920s. The introduction of Marxism as a state ideology and the promotion of the idea of a world proletarian revolution ensured that ethnic issues would no longer be fashionable. The new task of the now Soviet archaeologists was the transformation of archaeology into a Marxist science. It is in that context that the "ascension method" was adopted as the only means that, according to its protagonists, would allow the Marxist study of socio-economic formations on the basis of archaeological data. In the early 1930s, Marxist archaeology was overshadowed by the "stadial" approach, an archaeological variant of Marr's linguistic theory.

Beginning in the mid-1930s, but especially after the war, with the revival of the nationalist discourse, the ethnic problem resurfaced. The "stadial" approach was not officially abandoned until 1951. However, even before that date, Soviet archaeologists were increasingly returning to the "retrospective method" as formulated before the mid-1920s, but not used because of the ideological context. That method guided the development of Slavic archaeology in the MSSR. I have also noted that, although some archaeologists proposed to abandon the concept of "ethnic indicators," that never happened.

I have also pointed out that in order to study the problem of Slavic archaeology in MSSR, apart from the retrospective method, archaeologists used analogies. They chose to compare archaeological artefacts and complexes of the MSSR with those from Ukraine and Western Russia. Resemblance of those artefacts was believed to indicate that Moldovan, Ukrainian, and Russian sites belonged to the same ethnic group, the Rus(sians), or their ancestors, the East Slavic tribes. As for the Marxism of Moldovan Soviet archaeology, I have established that its representatives never developed or used a Marxist or Marxist-inspired methodology.

In the third part of the chapter, I have demonstrated that despite the fact that in Russia Bessarabia was often seen as a component part of the Slavic ancestral territory, and that its population was sometimes perceived as entirely

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or partially Slavic, until the end of the Second World War, nobody seem to have been interested in the Slavic archaeology born in Russia in the nineteenth century in relation to Bessarabia. Such as state of affairs may be explained by the fact that until the end of the war Slavic archaeology never established a real foothold in the field of Russian cultural production, first because of the competition from classical archaeology, then, because of the Bolshevik coup d'état, the Civil War, and the anti-nationalist policy of the new regime.

The search for the Slavic remains in Bessarabia began only after the Second World War when a part of the province became the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic. Of course, the need to justify the presence of the MSSR within the Soviet Union greatly inspired that research. However, political utility was not the only motive. The existence of several sources which suggested that that territory or some of its parts had been inhabited by Slavs in the past also played an important role in those studies.

In spite of some investigations announcing the discovery of the Slavic remains and several declarations emphasizing the importance of the MSSR for the history of the Slavic peoples and the ethnogenesis of the Moldovans, no serious investment in the archaeological research of the Slavic problem in MSSR was made until the early 1950s. This may have been the result of the poor state of the post-war Soviet economy, but the absence of archaeologists working on the Slavs and interested in associating their career with the MSSR played an equally important role. I have noted that Smirnov's intention, at the time the chief executive of the archaeological sector of the Institute of History, Economics, Language and Literature (the precursor of the Sciences Academy of the MSSR), was to study the Slavic problem only as a strategy to privilege the study of the subject of his specialization.

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CHAPTER 2

Georgiĭ Fedorov and the Building of Slavic Archaeology in the MSSR

Introduction

The Moscow archaeologist Georgiĭ Fedorov was a central figure of the Moldovan medieval archaeology of the Soviet era. Some authors regarded him as the founder of the Moldovan archaeology or of the "Moldovan school of archaeology," a person who invested himself wholeheartedly in his work.[1] According to others, Fedorov was an agent of pan-Slavism and a representative of the Soviet official historiography whose sole purpose was to highlight the importance of Slavic tribes in the medieval history of the MSSR, thus justifying their presence on this territory, inside the Soviet borders. His ethnic interpretations were only "pure falsifications of the Moldovan archaeological reality," made from "ceramic debris found on the surface of the soil."[2] His activity in the MSSR, the story goes, benefitted from the full support of the Communist Party, the local and central administrative apparatus, and even the KGB.[3]

Opinions about Fedorov's contribution to the archaeological research in the MSSR are therefore greatly polarized. In this chapter, I will go beyond that dichotomy, a necessary process since those conclusions were not born from an ample historiographical "investigation."[4]

1 Evgeniĭ Tkachuk, "Spor ili igra v odni vorota?" *Molodezh Moldavii*, May 13, 1989; Mark Tkachuk, "Georgiĭ Borisovich Fedorov (1917–1992)," *Stratum plus* 5 (1999): 9–10; Roman A. Rabinovich, "G.B. Fedorov i ego nauchnoe nasledie. K stoletiiu so dnia rozhdeniia," *Revista arheologică, serie nouă* 13/1–2 (2017): 300–304.

2 Hîncu and Postică, "Despre greșeli," 6.

3 Gheorghe Postică, *Românii din codrii Moldovei în evul mediu timpuriu* (Kishinev: Universitas, 1994), 6–8; Postică, *Civilizația medievală timpurie*, 30–39; Țurcanu, *Istoricitatea*, 65–66; Dumbrăveanu, "Controverse istoriografice," 35; Ion Hîncu, "Apariția, implimentarea și mistificarea etnonimului "slav" în literatura arheologică din Moldova," in *Demistificarea sau remistificarea istoriei. Materialele Dezbaterilor Naționale 26–28 aprilie 1999*, ed., Sergiu Musteață and Vitalie Siminica (Kishinev: Pontos, 2000), 25–26.

4 Most opinions described above are either based on accusations alone or very close to the hagiographic genre. In the second volume of his *History of Russian Archaeology*, published in 2014, Leo Klejn dedicates several pages to the activity of Fedorov. To this day, that is the most extensive presentation of the archaeologist and intellectual Fedorov. Nonetheless Klejn, like other writers before him, wrote a panegyric, not a critical account of Fedorov's life

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This chapter has five components. First, I will draw the portrait of the intellectual Fedorov. Besides archaeology, Fedorov had literary inclinations. His activity began during the Stalinist era, continued during the "Khrushchev thaw," and well into the Brezhnev period. This is why one needs to define his attitude towards Stalinism, the dissident movement, and his relationship with Russian nationalism and pan-Slavism. I will also try to enter the intimate atmosphere of his home, and analyze his extra-archaeological activities in order to capture what Bourdieu would have called his "habitus."

In the second part of this chapter, I will identify Fedorov's scientific profile, that is to say, I will look at the conditions which influenced his training and his choice of Slavic archaeology as specialty. I will also take a look at his professional skills. Since his university years, Fedorov knew, and was influenced by two important representatives of Soviet archaeology, Artemiĭ Artsikhovskiĭ, and Boris Rybakov. Both left marks on his career in their own ways. As such, I will also analyze how that happened. In the third part, I shall try to understand the reasons for which Fedorov chose the MSSR as his archaeological "fief."

In the previous chapter I have noted that the construction of Moldovan Soviet archaeology began in 1946, four years before Fedorov's arrival in the MSSR, and at least two people contributed to its development, Georgiĭ Smirnov and Tat'iana Passek. Therefore, it would be an exaggeration to treat that Fedorov was the sole founder of Moldovan archaeology. However, he was undoubtedly the one who set up Slavic archaeology in the MSSR. In the fourth part of this chapter I will show that Fedorov was the protagonist of the first generation of medieval archaeologists in that Soviet republic. How Fedorov chose his students, their presentation, and the character of their collaboration once they started their own careers, will be analyzed in detail. For certain archaeologists who were part of that first generation, I used archival documents, publications and even oral sources, while for others I have only found archival sources. For that reason, their respective presentations are not quite symmetrical.

In the fifth part of this chapter I will analyze and explain Fedorov's opinions on the main topics of Slavic archaeology of the MSSR, namely, the question of the location of the Uliches and the Tivertsy; the date of the settlement of the earliest Slavs in the territory of the MSSR; the identification of the material culture of the Tivertsy; the question of the incorporation of the territory of the MSSR into Kievan Rus, the First Bulgarian Empire, and the Rus' principality of Halych-Vohlynia; the issue of the "degree of development" of the medieval

and activity. Leo S. Klejn, *Istoriia Rossiiskoi Arkheologii, ucheniia, shkoly i lichnosti. Arkheologi sovetskoĭ epokhi.* T. 2 (Saint Petersburg: Evraziia, 2014), 511–532.

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Slavic civilization on the territory of the MSSR; and the role of the Slavs in the genesis of Moldovans and of their culture.

1 The Intellectual Georgiĭ Fedorov

1.1 *Facing Stalinism*

> I was born on May 15, 1917 in Leningrad, in a family of clerks. From 1925 until 1935, I studied at school number 135 in Moscow. In 1935, I began my studies at the Faculty of History of Moscow State University. In 1940, I finished my studies. I specialized in archaeology. From July 1940 to May 1941, I served as a soldier in the Red Army (Lithuania, Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, Kaliningrad Oblast). Because of a serious illness, I was demobilized. From 1941 to 1943, I was an assistant professor of archaeology at the Faculty of History of the Moscow State University. From 1933 to 1944, I was a member of the Union of Young Communist Leninists of the USSR. In 1944, I was a candidate, and since 1945—member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. From 1943 to 1946, I was a doctoral fellow at the Institute of History and Material Culture (Institute of Archaeology) of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. From 1946 to 1950, I was an assistant researcher and from 1950 until now—senior researcher at the Institute of Archaeology of the USSR Academy of Sciences. In 1946, I defended my candidate thesis at the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.[5] In 1961, I defended my doctoral thesis at the Institute

5 Candidate or Candidate in Sciences (in Russian *Kandidat nauk*) is a scientific title received in the USSR by university graduates who passed their examinations, called minimum of the candidate (in Russian *minimum kandidatskij*) and publicly defended a candidate thesis. The candidate's minimum required the verification of the aspirant's knowledge of dialectical and historical materialism, a foreign language, and the discipline of his or her own specialization. The candidate's title was one of the conditions that had to be fulfilled in order to obtain the following scientific title, that of doctor of science (in Russian *Doktor nauk*). To receive it, one had to have a significant number of specialty publications and defend a dissertation, known as "doctor's thesis." In some cases, it was possible to obtain the title of doctor without defending a dissertation, but the candidate had to be known for his or her contributions deemed remarkable in his or her field of activity. B.S. Rozov "Uchenye zvaniia i stepeni," in *Bol'shaia sovetskaia ėntsiklopediia*, edited by Aleksandr M. Prokhorov. T. 27 (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo «Sovetskaia ėntsiklopediia», 1977), 157; M.N. Volkov, "Doktor nauk," in *Bol'shaia sovetskaia ėntsiklopediia*. T. 8, ed., Aleksandr M. Prokhorov (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo «Sovetskaia ėntsiklopediia», 1972), 403; M.N. Volkov, "Kandidat nauk," in *Bol'shaia*

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FIGURE 2 Georgiĭ Fedorov (1917–1993)
INSTITUT ISTORII. STARSHIĬ NAUCHNYI SOTRUDNIK (BEZ OPLATY) FEDOROV GEORGIĬ BORISOVICH, 1973 (AAȘRM. FOND 1, OPIS' 3, NR. 6159, 1973)

of Ethnography. In 1968, I was accepted as a member of the Union of Writers of the USSR. I have published more than 170 works, books, articles, and stories, in Russian, Ukrainian, Moldovan, Armenian, Estonian and Lithuanian. My works appeared in Romania, Bulgaria, Poland, and France. Every year since 1950 I worked in Moldova where I carried out archaeological research and trained Moldovan specialists in archaeology. I participated in scientific meetings, in the drafting and editing of historical and archaeological publications. I was a member of the editorial board of

sovetskaia ėntsiklopediia. Tom 11, ed., Aleksandr M. Prokhorov (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo «Sovetskaia ėntsiklopediia», 1973), 324–325; M.N. Volkov and V.G. Panov, "Kandidatskii minimum," in *Bol'shaia sovetskaia ėntsiklopediia*. T. 11, ed., Aleksandr M. Prokhorov (Moscow: Moscow: Izdatel'stvo «Sovetskaia ėntsiklopediia», 1973), 325.

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> the first volume of the History of Moldova. Under my supervision, several researchers at the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the MSSR, P [avel] P [etrovich] Bîrnea, L [azar '] L [' vovich] Polevoĭ, I [sak] A [leksandrovich] Rafalovich, I [van] G [eorgievich] Hîncu, and G [eorgii] F [eoktistovich] Cebotarenco, successfully defended their candidate theses. In addition, I supervised practical courses in archaeology and theses for degree students at the Faculty of History at the State University of Kishinev. In the years 1957–1964, in order to study Romanian archaeology, I made several trips to Romania. Later, in collaboration with L [azar '] L [' vovich] Polevoĭ, I wrote the book Archaeology of Romania which will be published in 1973 with the participation of the Institute of History of Academy of Sciences of the MSSR and the Institute of Archaeology of the USSR Academy of Sciences.[6] I have been married since 1946. My spouse, Roshal'-Stroeva Marianna Grigor'evna, was born in 1925. She is a director at the studio "Gorki" in Moscow. My daughter—Vera Georgievna, born in 1949, graduated in art history from the Moscow State University. My son, Mikhail Georgievich Fedorov, born in 1956, is finishing high school.
>
> 2 June 1973 / G. Fedorov[7]

This excerpt is a version of Fedorov's autobiography in the archives of the Academy of Sciences of Moldova. According to this text, Fedorov was an exemplary Soviet citizen. He honored his duty to his country by performing military service. He was a member of the Communist Party. He helped the Moldovan "brotherly people" in the training of national cadres and finally, he was a good father, following Soviet laws on family and marriage.

Such an autobiography naturally highlighted personal events that were deemed advantageous for and by its author.[8] However, several key events in Fedorov's life received no mention in his autobiography. This was not due to the restrictive nature of this type of text, nor to the fact that the events in question post-dated the writing of the autobiography (i.e., occurred later than 1973). Those events were not mentioned because they did not contribute to a good image and were consequently of no use to the author's attempt to advance

6 Georgiĭ B. Fedorov and Lazar' L. Polevoĭ, *Arkheologiia Rumynii* (Moscow: Nauka, 1973).

7 *Institut Istorii. Starshiĭ nauchnyi sotrudnik* (*bez oplaty*) *Fedorov Georgiĭ Borisovich, 1973.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 3, Nr. 6159, 1973).

8 The emphasis on his activity in the MSSR is due to the fact that this autobiography was addressed to the management of the Academy of Sciences of this republic, being attached to a request for tenure as a supernumerary scientific collaborator. We will see that until 1973, the date of the writing of this autobiography, its archaeological activity did not limit itself only to the territory of the MSSR.

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in life. However, those events were well known to Fedorov's friends, acquaintances, and some of them, even to the KGB.

After Stalin's death in 1953, and especially after the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956—the starting point of the destalinization policy of Soviet society—the political and intellectual life in the country were shaped by two opposite tendencies, an anti-Stalinist and liberal interpretation, and a more conservative, pro-Stalinist stance. Fedorov favored the former.[9] His anti-Stalinism, first manifested within a very narrow circle of friends, most probably went back years before Stalin's death and the Twentieth Party Congress. Natalia Rapoport, a chemist and close friend of the Fedorov family, recalled in her memoirs how in 1945 Fedorov asked his future wife to marry him: "I love you and I will ask for your hand right away, but first I must confess a terrible secret: I detest Stalin!"[10] One can doubt the veracity of the story, because the author was a very good friend of the Fedorov family. Moreover, according to her own testimony, it was Fedorov himself who liked to tell it. In any case, what matters is that Fedorov's image in his entourage was that of an anti-Stalinist, a fact that remained undisputed.[11]

According to Fedorov's testimony, it was in the second half of the 1930s, while pursuing his university studies, that several of his professors were declared enemies of the people and executed or sent to the labor camp. He began to question the existing regime. The student Fedorov could not believe that his teachers were guilty, but these events failed to shake his "blind belief" in the leader of the regime.[12] The final stroke came from a discussion that took place in 1938 with his archaeology professor, Artemiĭ Artsikhovskiĭ. The latter shared his opinion on Stalin, and was very direct: "Stalin is a hangman and an assassin!"[13] This confession, at once sincere and serious, especially if we take into account the period when it was made, had a decisive effect on the formation of the socio-political profile of young Fedorov.

His teacher's confession was probably reinforced by the feeling of guilt and shame he developed during his military service, which began in July 1940, immediately after his university studies. Fedorov served in Lithuania, a territory that had just been occupied by the USSR. The mission of the army of which soldier Fedorov was a part of was to suppress the anti-Soviet resistance of the

9 Liudmila Alekseeva and Pol Goldberg, *Pokolenie ottepeli* (Moscow: Zakharov, 2006); Mariia R. Zezina, *Sovetskaia khudozhestvennaia intelligenciia i vlast' v 1950-e–60-e gody* (Moscow: Dialog-MGU, 1999); Nekrich, *Otreshis'*.

10 Rapoport, *To li byl'*, 154.

11 Korzhavin, *V soblaznakh*, 670; Kim, "Dorogoi nash," 6–7.

12 Fedorov, *Bruschatka*, 73–74.

13 Fedorov, *Bruschatka*, 74.

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Lithuanians. It was in this context that, according to his testimony, he witnessed the abuses (executions, violations, expulsion) the Red Army and the Soviet political police carried out against the local population.[14]

It was also in Lithuania, which had not yet been "sanitized" from the pernicious influences of the bourgeois ideology, that Fedorov took a liking to forbidden literature.[15] Later, on archaeological sites that he directed, Moldovan archaeologists could also read works by certain authors who had fallen in disgrace from the Soviet power.[16] In one of his own literary works, published in Moscow in 1966, Fedorov disguised the verses of the Russian Acmeist poet Nikolaĭ Gumilev, executed by the Bolsheviks in 1921, and banned almost until the last years of the Soviet era.[17]

1.2 *Facing the Dissident Movement*

Although Fedorov was not in the front lines of the Soviet dissident movement, which gained momentum in the 1960s, and had at its core the defense of the autonomy of literature, art, freedom of expression, and respect for civil rights, he was well known by members of that movement.[18] His archaeological expeditions into the MSSR served as refuge for several people who found themselves blacklisted by the Soviet regime.[19] Having been tried, imprisoned, or deported, they often had a hard time finding work upon their return. Moreover, not working for more than four months could attract the accusation of "social parasitism" and the return to prison.[20] By bringing them to his excavations as ordinary laborers, Fedorov protected them from such a danger.[21] In the post-Stalin years, Fedorov also signed petitions or letters of protest, along with other intellectuals, in support of certain persecuted figures of the Soviet state. Such gestures did not escape the attention of the KGB. During the first half of the 1970s, Fedorov and most of his Moldovan disciples who also welcomed such "dangerous individuals" were subjected to several interrogations.[22] The result was a ban on Fedorov's continued archaeological research in the MSSR.

14 Fedorov, *Bruschatka*, 11–12 and 15–59.
15 Fedorov, *Bruschatka*, 17.
16 Nicolae Chetraru, interview by Iurie Stamati, 2010, audio.
17 Fedorov, *Dnevnaia* (1966), 267.
18 Alekseeva and Goldberg, *Pokolenie*.
19 E.M. Velikanova, ed., *Tsena metafory ili prestuplenie i nakazanie Siniavskogo i Danielia* (Moscow: Kniga, 1989), 498.
20 Alekseeva and Goldberg, *Pokolenie*, 158.
21 Roshal'-Stroeva, "Posleslovie," 297; Tkachuk, "Georgiĭ Borisovich," 9–10.
22 Nicolae Chetraru, interview by Iurie Stamati, 2010, audio; Mark Tkachuk, interview by Iurie Stamati, 2010, audio.

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The first time that Fedorov caught the attention of the KGB was in 1947, at the beginning of Stalin's anti-Semitic campaign, when a search was carried out at his home on the occasion of the arrest of his friend, the poet of Jewish origin Nahum Korzhavin. The Fedorov family often organized suppers or poetic evenings. The young Korzhavin who, according to some of his friends, was too sincere with too many people, was a regular guest at those evenings.[23] The purpose of the search was to find compromising material. Korzhavin was eventually condemned as a "socially dangerous element" and exiled to Siberia, then to Kazakhstan. Despite such developments, Fedorov did not cut ties with the outlaw. Packages with clothes and food products, letters sent to his friend were normal gestures for Fedorov and his wife.[24]

Maintaining a friendship with someone who had fallen in disgrace with the Soviet State was not limited to that case.[25] Fedorov's house often welcomed people with similar profiles. A Moldovan historian recalled a visit to Fedorov at some point in the 1970s: "On a table there was a large plate with boiled potatoes and a small home-made device for distilling alcohol. In a corner, on a sofa there were a few individuals with shaved heads that obviously did not want to be too visible."[26] All these details made it easy for the author of these recollections to conclude that the individuals in question must have just been released from prison.

As noted, Fedorov often organized parties. Intellectuals of all kinds, whether favored by the Party or not, writers, chemists, singers, physicists, composers, film-makers, painters, and many more were regular guests. Organizing parties was a tradition in the family of Fedorov's wife, and seems to have perfectly matched Fedorov's own inclinations for the arts, the artistic world, and his gift of storytelling.[27] The latter was apparently was extraordinary, a fact acknowledged by all those who knew him, irrespective of their profession or attitude towards him.[28]

23 Nekrich, *Otreshis'*, 28.

24 Nekrich, *Otreshis'*, 28–29.

25 Gabaĭ, *Stikhi*, 135–169.

26 Demir Dragnev, interview by Iurie Stamati, 2010, audio.

27 Marianna Roshal'-Stroeva is the daughter of the filmmakers of Jewish origin, Grigorii Roshal' and Vera Stroeva, best known for the films *The Night of St. Petersburg* (1934), *Akademik Ivan Pavlov* (1949), *Musorgskii* (1950) and *Boris Godunov* (1956).

28 Mikhail Goler, "Kak budushchiĭ narodnyi artist Rossii uchil stepeni sravneniia v evreiskom iazyke." Available at http://mikhailgoler.blogspot.com/p/blog-page_6989.html (visit of June 29, 2018); Hîncu, "Apariția, implimentarea," 25; Kim, "Dorogoi nash," 6–7; Rapoport, *To li byl'*, 153–154; Mark Kharitonov, "Svecha ne pogasnet," in *Bruschatka, Dokumental'nye povesti i rasskazy* by Georgiĭ Fedorov (Moscow: Libr, 1997), 8–9.

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Many ideas circulating inside the Fedorov house could not be heard in the Soviet media.[29] Fedorov's friends spoke of his appreciation for unofficial, iconoclastic art, poetry, songs. Natalia Rapoport, a family friend, describes a painting probably made in a naive style on a wooden cutting board, which she saw in the 1970s or the first half of the 1980s in the home of the Fedorovs: "On a high hill there was a church; downstairs, a square with the building of the village council; not far, two lovers represented in a position which had long since passed the stage of a platonic flirt, and near them—an empty bottle of vodka. At the forefront, a team of pioneers giving the official salute wearing their red ties and faces animated by a creative breath. It was just unclear who greeted these pioneers, the village's council village, the shagging couple, or the bottle of vodka …"[30]

It is not surprising that Fedorov's son, Mikhail Fedorov-Roshal, who became a conceptual painter, and a proponent of *happening* and *performance*, was amongst the most active artists in promoting ideas far too challenging for the official landscape of Soviet art in the 1970s to the 1980s. He was one of the youngest participants in the famous "Buldozer Exhibition", an event set up in a suburb of Moscow in September 1974 by painters working outside the "socialist realism" genre, and brutally suppressed by authorities. As with the father, the KGB closely followed the son's career as well, and put an end to some of his projects. Like his father's, his apartment too was also "visited" by KGB agents.[31]

1.3 *The Conformity of the Non-conformist Fedorov*

Like the vast majority of anti-Stalinist intellectuals, until the late 1980s, Fedorov was probably not able to question the Soviet system as such. Everything that happened in the Stalinist era was, according to those intellectuals, just a deviation from the Leninist line.[32] That is why Fedorov's joining the Communist Party was probably natural and sincere. On the other hand, he may have also had in mind more pragmatic reasons akin to a belief widely spread in Soviet

29 In spite of all peculiarities of the Fedorov house, the organization of such evenings was not exceptional. They were quite popular in the USSR. These evenings were an alternative to the official space. The atmosphere was much more relaxed and devoid of the pathos of the official discourse. In the second half of the 1960s, this type of encounter became a real phenomenon. Everything that was officially judged to be ideologically foreign and socially dangerous (literary, historical, philosophical, political, musical, etc.) found an audience at those evenings. Alekseeva and Goldberg, *Pokolenie*.

30 Rapoport, *To li byl'*, 157.

31 Ekaterina Dëgot' and Vadim Zakharov, "Moskovskiĭ kontseptualizm," *WAM World Art Muzei* 15/16 (2005): 72–87; Dirk Krechmar, *Politika i kul'tura pri Brezhneve, Andropove i Chernenko, 1970–1985 gg*. (Moscow: AIRO-XX, 1997), 155.

32 Zezina, *Sovetskaia khudozhestvennaia Intelligentsiia*, 169–176.

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society at that time that membership in the Communist Party would facilitate one's career.[33] Indeed, Party membership, as well as the unequivocal affirmation of loyalty to its political line, was generously remunerated by the Party.

Like many of his peers, Fedorov declared his loyalty to the Part line early in his career. Moreover, it seems that his strategy as a young researcher was to win first an important position in society, and then work according to "his heart," even though his friend, the poet Korzhavin, claimed otherwise.[34] In his articles published in the early 1950s, during the later years of the Stalinist era, the young archaeologist Fedorov, like many Soviet intellectuals, cited the "brilliant works of Comrade Stalin" and used the stereotypical language when referring to capitalist science and its "vicious and rotten ideological foundations."[35] As I shall demonstrate, his opinions about Slavic archaeology, which he exposed at the time, were anything but non-conformist. In fact, throughout his career and even after Stalin's death and the Twentieth Party Congress, the archaeologist Fedorov would never venture outside the limits of the official historiography. Such conformism was not only a strategy to secure a respectable position in the archaeological "field," but was also meant to preserve it.

33 Vitaliĭ N. Dmitrevskiĭ, "Khudozhestvennaia intelligentsiia i vlast': roli, maski, reputatsii," in *Russkaia intelligentsiia. Istoriia i sud'ba*, ed., Tat'iana B. Kniazevskaia (Moscow: Nauka, 1999), 314–315.

34 Dmitrevskiĭ, "Khudozhestvennaia intelligentsiia, 314–315. In this regard, it should also be noted that at the beginning of their careers many young Soviet historians were more orthodox in their submission to Marxist language and to the ideological line of the Party, in general. Liubov' A. Sidorova, *Sovetskaia istoricheskaia nauka serediny XX veka: sintez trekh pokolenii istorikov* (Moscow: Institut Rosiiskoĭ istorii, 2008), 22. For Korzhavin's claims, see Korzhavin, *V soblaznakh*, 670–671.

35 Georgiĭ B. Fedorov, "Vvedenie," in *Po sledam drevnikh kul'tur*, ed., Georgiĭ B. Fedorov (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo kul'turno-prosvetitel'noi literatury, 1951), 4–5; Georgiĭ B. Fedorov, "Tivertsy (Iz itogov rabot Slaviano- dnestrovskoĭ ėkspeditsii IIMK AN SSSR v 1950 g.)," *Vestnik drevneĭ istorii* 2 (1952): 258; Georgiĭ B. Fedorov, "Slaviane Podnestrov'ia," in *Po sledam drevnikh kul'tur. Drevniaia Rus'*, ed., Georgiĭ B. Fedorov (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo kul'turno-prosvetitel'noi literatury, 1953), 146; Georgiĭ B. Fedorov, "Itogi trekhletnikh rabot v Moldavii v oblasti slaviano-russkoi arkheologii," *Kratkie soobshcheniia instituta istorii material'noĭ kul'tury* 56 (1954): 21. The conformism of young Fedorov seems to be confirmed by one of his former faculty colleagues, the Moscow archaeologist Mikhail Rabinovich. According to him, the student Fedorov was an unscrupulous careerist who tried by all dishonest means to get his teacher's attention. Mikhail G. Rabinovich, *Zapiski sovetskogo intellektuala*, ed., Oleg V. Budnitskiĭ (Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie; Mezhdunarodnyi issledovatel'skii tsentr rossiiskogo I vostochnoevropeiskogo evreistva, 2005), 143.

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1.4 *Facing Nationalism and Russian Pan-Slavism*

In the memoirs published after his death, in 1997, Fedorov claimed that, ever since his youth, he had abhorred Russian nationalism, which he regarded alongside German fascism as "animalesque."[36] According to Korzhavin, Fedorov's father was an "old Bolshevik," by which he meant to say that the social side of communist ideology was much closer to Fedorov's heart than the nationalist ideology revived by Stalin in the 1930s.[37] Moreover, it is likely that as an "old Bolshevik," Fedorov's father was hostile to nationalism, which he may have perceived as an instrument of exploitation of the proletarians. Despite the fact that, according to Fedorov, his father avoided any discussions on "current affairs" with him, the son may have nonetheless adopted his father's take on the communist ideology without even realizing it.[38]

However, Georgiĭ Fedorov lived and studied during a period when the nationalist discourse was resurrected. It is therefore a relevant question to ask, in my opinion, whether that ideology left any imprint on his intellectual profile. To answer that question, I will analyze a historical novel that Fedorov wrote together with his wife, given that that kind of literature often serves as a carrier for nationalist ideology.[39] The novel is entitled *The Cross of Ignat*, and tells the story of the inhabitants of Novgorod trying to protect their city against the Mongol invasion of 1238. The choice of Novgorod as a narrative stage is significant. In Russian historiography, tats medieval city was regarded as an example of democratic society. The city was called "the Republic of Novgorod," because of the presence of an institution called *veche*, which was believed to have been a "popular" assembly operating as the highest authority of the city.[40]

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36 Fedorov, *Bruschatka*, 12.

37 Korzhavin, *V soblaznakh*, 670.

38 Fedorov, *Bruschatka*, 74.

39 Fedorov and Fedorova, *Ignach krest*. Apart from this novel, Fedorov has written a series of short stories; some were inspired by his archaeological experiences, others were reflections on people he had met on various occasions. He was also the co-author of the script and the scientific consultant of the film *The Island of the Eagle*, which was released on the Soviet screens in 1961 and which recounted the saga of an archaeological expedition. Fedorov, *Dnevnaia* (1966); Fedorov, *Dnevnaia* (1977); Fedorov, *Bosmannaia*; Fedorov, *Bruschatka*.

40 It goes without saying that Novgorod was not the only Rus' city to have a *veche*. However, while in other Rus' towns the institution slowly lost its importance in favor of the prince, in Novgorod the power of the *veche* increased until the fifteenth century when the "republic" was conquered by troops from Muscovy. Although the question of the social component of the *veche* remains a matter of some concern for historians of medieval Russia, scholars now agree that that institution was neither as "popular" nor as "democratic" as Fedorov imagined it. The *veche* was far from representing all the free people in the city. Michel Heller, *Histoire de la Russie et de son Empire* (Paris: PERRIN, 2015), 120–122; Igor'

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According to Fedorov and his wife, the ideas meant to appeal to the readers were: the anti-totalitarianism of the Novgorodians, their devotion to democracy, and everything that it can bring about, according to the two authors, such a social order. It was precisely that "democratic" side of the inhabitants of Novgorod that opposed totalitarianism and the despotism of the Mongol invaders, which the Fedorovs put forward in comments at the end of their novel. According to Fedorovs,

> Two very different social orders, two psychologies, two types of personalities, two conceptions of the world, and two morals met in this mortal combat. On the one hand, it is the abyssal attachment to freedom, initiative, responsibility and deeply personal consideration for the earth and the people, for their destiny, and the taste for creative work. On the other hand, it is the black force, without reasoning, a cruel force, founded on despotism, submission, and slavery, the appetite for the conquest of new lands, the plunder and destruction of peoples. This terrible force was not able to triumph because of the resistance [...] of the *veche* and the philosophy that corresponded to it.[41]

The novel itself did not really resemble a manifesto for democracy, but rather a dithyramb for patriotism. From the first pages, certain images created by the authors and their presentation remind the reader of Eisenstein's *Alexander Nevski*, which was first screened in 1938 to animate patriotism and rally Soviet citizens against the expansion of the Third Reich.[42] The latter also related the struggle of the inhabitants of Novgorod against foreign invaders, in that case the Teutonic knights. Like Eisenstein's movie, the Fedorovs' novel contains elements of Russian nationalist mythology. The Russian men depicted by the Fedorovs were tall and sturdy, with blue eyes and light brown hair. They were brave soldiers. The noble spirit and patriotism expressed, not only in relation to their city but to "the whole of Russia", were attributes that added to their physique and valor. The beautiful Russian women, all blue-eyed and

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N. Danilevskiĭ, *Drevniaia Rus' glazami sovremennikov i potomkov* (*IX–XII vv.*), *Kurs lektsii* (Moskva: Aspekt press, 1998), 92–95.

41 Fedorov and Fedorova, *Ignach krest*, 251.

42 Eisenstein's film certainly wanted to underline the democratic side of Soviet society. However, the date of the film's appearance, as well as the use of several elements, such as the symbols of the bishop's headgear of the Teutonic army that recall the Nazi swastika, as well as the line at the end of the film—"Who against us with the sword will enter, by the sword shall perish! Such is and will be the law in the Russian land!"—show that praising democracy was not among the movie's main goals.

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fair-haired, were no less patriotic. One of the female characters, the daughter of the governor of Novgorod, participates in the battle alongside men. She is even wounded and taken prisoner. The leader of the enemy army recognized her physical and spiritual beauty, and offers her a place of honor in his harem. Eventually freed by her lover, a brave Russian prince, she succumbs to her wounds. There are also traces of the pan-Slavist in the novel. In another passage, the governor of Novgorod (the father of the female warrior) complains that certain Slavic peoples had let themselves be assimilated by other ethnic groups, thus losing their Slavic identity.

In spite of those images, it is unlikely that Fedorov wanted to appear as an advocate of Russian nationalism and pan-Slavism. He may not have been aware of his attachment to those ideologies. A strong proponent of Russian nationalism could not have surrounded himself with so many friends and a wife of Jewish origin as he did, especially since, as was the case elsewhere in Europe, anti-Semitism was a key component of Russian nationalism. Nonetheless, the novel shows that as an intellectual figure, Fedorov was the product of his time. Despite his father's influence and his own anti-Stalinism, he lived and was formed in a period of Russian nationalist revival under Stalin and he was definitely not immune to its influence. He even contributed to the proliferation of that discourse through his own scholarly work.

2 Fedorov the Archaeologist: His Training and Know-how

2.1 *From Diplomacy to Archaeology*

In his youth, Fedorov dreamed of a diplomatic career.[43] With that dream in mind, he became a student at the Faculty of History at Moscow State University, in 1935. In the first two years of his studies, his readings were probably related to contemporary history, a discipline he apparently liked most, and which was supposed to be a very good tool for his future career.[44] But in 1937, several of his professors disappeared in the waves of the Stalinist repression. According to Fedorov's confession, it was the fate of his teachers that drove him to abandon his dream.[45] At that time, complicity in anti-Soviet political groups, or espionage for a foreign power was a common accusation. Fedorov's professors were most certainly charged with such crimes, which probably led him to reconsider the dangers to which a Soviet "worker" abroad could be exposed.

43 Fedorov, *Bruschatka*, 72–73.

44 Korzhavin, *V soblaznakh*, 668.

45 Fedorov, *Bruschatka*, 74.

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The choice of archaeology must be understood in that context. The discipline was seen by many as apolitical.[46] Fedorov apparently shared that opinion.[47] His first participation in the archaeological excavations undertaken in Novgorod and directed by his professor Artemiĭ Artsikhovskiĭ certainly had a great impact on his career choice, despite the physical effort that was required and the severity, and rigidity of Artsikhovskiĭ's assistant, who was in charge with the supervision of the students. Without naming names, Fedorov remembered the assistant saying: "Work, work carefully!", and pointing out that on archaeological site students were only ordinary diggers.[48] All that discomfort ultimately paid off, when an eleventh century timber drainage system was discovered, which was apparently still operational.[49] In spite of the presence of the professor's assistant, this visual reward was surely accompanied by a much more unobstructed atmosphere than that of classrooms, party meetings, faculty offices, or university libraries. This must have been important to Fedorov, who was interested in poetry and literature in general. It is likely on that same site that he and his comrades allegedly formulated some archaeological "axioms:" "The archaeologist's tool is his shovel; the archaeologist's best friend is fire; the archaeologist's dream is the tomb; the archaeologist's treasure is the dustbin …"[50]

46 Alekseeva and Goldberg, *Pokolenie*, 40.

47 Fedorov, *Bruschatka*, 74; Korzhavin, *V soblaznakh*, 668.

48 Fedorov, *Dnevnaia* (1977), 17–18.

49 The spectacular character of the archaeological research in Novgorod was due to the discoveries made at that time, but also, and above all, to the novelty of excavating a medieval town in its entirety. Daniil A. Avdusin, "Artemiĭ Vladimerovich Artsikhovskiĭ i Novgorod," in *Novgorodskie arkheologicheskie chteniia. Materialy nauchnoĭ konferentsii, posviashchennoĭ 60-letiiu arkheologicheskogo izucheniia Novgoroda i 90-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia osnovatelia Novgorodskoĭ arkheologicheskoĭ ėkspeditsii A.V. Artsikhovskogo, Novgorod, 28 sentiabria–2 oktiabria 1992 g.*, ed., Valentin L. Ianin and Pëtr G. Gaidukov (Novgorod: Novgorodskii muzei-zapovednik, 1994), 28–34; Pëtr G. Gaidukov, "1932 god—nachalo planomernogo arkheologicheskogo izucheniia Novgoroda," in *Novgorodskie arkheologicheskie chteniia. Materialy nauchnoĭ konferentsii, posviashchennoĭ 60-letiiu arkheologicheskogo izucheniia Novgoroda i 90-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia osnovatelia Novgorodskoĭ arkheologicheskoĭ ėkspeditsii A.V. Artsikhovskogo, Novgorod, 28 sentiabria–2 oktiabria 1992 g.*, ed., Valentin L. Ianin and Pëtr G. Gaidukov (Novgorod: Novgorodskii muzei-zapovednik, 1994), 35–53; Valentin L. Ianin, "Osnovnye istoricheskie itogi arkheologicheskogo izucheniia Novgoroda," in *Novgorodskie arkheologicheskie chteniia. Materialy nauchnoĭ konferentsii, posviashchennoĭ 60-letiiu arkheologicheskogo izucheniia Novgoroda i 90-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia osnovatelia Novgorodskoĭ arkheologicheskoĭ ėkspeditsii A.V. Artsikhovskogo, Novgorod, 28 sentiabria–2 oktiabria 1992 g.*, ed. Valentin L. Ianin and Pëtr G. Gaidukov (Novgorod: Novgorodskii muzei-zapovednik, 1994), 9–27.

50 Fedorov, *Dnevnaia* (1977), 30.

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2.2 *Fedorov and Artsikhovskiĭ*

The choice of archaeology was also based on the relationship that Fedorov had developed with his professor Artemiĭ Artsikhovskiĭ. It was precisely Artsikhovskiĭ who shared his opinion of Stalin with young Fedorov. In 1937, Fedorov attended his introductory course in archaeology. Artsikhovskiĭ was among the first Soviet archaeologists who attempted to transform their discipline into a Marxist science in the 1920s. He was one of the main promoters of the "ascension method." In 1937–1938, when Fedorov followed his course, that method was already past, for the "stadial approach" inspired by Marr's linguistic theory, had long replaced it. Artsikhovskiĭ did not adhere to it, but he did not dare to express his disagreement openly.[51] It is most likely because he wanted to avoid speaking bluntly that, in his lectures, Artsikhovskiĭ never touched upon theory.[52] Nonetheless, Fedorov still learned from those lectures that archaeology was "a science that studied the past of mankind according to material historical sources" and "since these sources were generally found in the earth," one was supposed to know that "archaeology was history armed with a shovel."[53] Fedorov and his colleagues also learned that "a historical event might not leave traces in the archives or chronicles. But these traces still remained in the earth. The objective of archaeologist was to find them."[54] Such ideas, as apologetic and naive as they may appeared to modern practicians of archaeology, had a great role in educating students about the usefulness and even superiority of archaeology in relation to history "without a shovel." For the rest, Artsikhovskiĭ's course did not have a very rigorous structure. The topics chosen were certain archaeological periods, for example the Paleolithic, or the Neolithic, certain countries of Classical Antiquity, such as Babylonia, or Egypt, certain peoples such as the Scythians, and the Sarmatians, or Russian medieval towns, like Kiev or Novgorod.[55]

According to Fedorov, Artsikhovskiĭ's courses were rich in information, often very difficult to remember.[56] However, Artsikhovskiĭ was very appreciated by the students. Many times his classes left room for humorous incidents. The professor was dyslalic, for he had difficulty pronouncing the letters "K" and "G," and, for unknown reasons, avoided the word for "woman." Such

51 Klejn, *Fenomen*, 82.

52 Artemiĭ V. Artsikhovskiĭ, *Vvedenie v arkheologiiu* (Moscow: Izdanie zaochnago otdeleniia MGU, 1941), 47.

53 Artsikhovskiĭ, *Vvedenie*, 3.

54 Artsikhovskiĭ, *Vvedenie*, 3.

55 Artsikhovskiĭ, *Vvedenie*; Artemiĭ V. Artsikhovskiĭ, *Vvedenie v arkheologiiu* (Moscow: Izdanie MGU, 1947).

56 Fedorov, *Dnevnaia poverkhnost'*, 8–13.

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details of Artsikhovskiĭ's portrait also had a significant role in the choice made by Fedorov. According to him, he and his friend Aleksandr Mongajt (who is known to Western archaeologists especially as a historian and apologist of Soviet archaeology[57]) adored Artsikhovskiĭ and through him they fell in love with archaeology.[58]

Because of Artsikhovskiĭ's confession about Stalin, Fedorov felt that he was now a member of his professor's intimate entourage. It should be noted that apart from those confessions, Artsikhovskiĭ told Fedorov details of his life, which was not entirely that of an exemplary citizen and Soviet researcher. During the Civil War, Artsikhovskiĭ fought on the side of the White Army in the south-western region of Russia. After the victory of the Reds, he withdrew to Moscow to disappear in the crowd. Obviously, this admission was no less dangerous than that about Stalin. Later, in his memoirs, Fedorov noted that "this was perhaps the most important discussion" of his life, for which he would always remain very grateful to his teacher.[59]

Apart from those moments of sincerity, the two also shared a love for poetry.[60] In addition, Fedorov and some of his comrades were invited alongside several leading figures of Soviet archaeology at evenings organized by Artsikhovskiĭ at his home.[61] This was probably very motivating for a young student.

2.3 *Fedorov and Rybakov*

The preparation of his candidate's thesis brought Fedorov closer to another important name in Soviet archaeology, Boris Rybakov. For 31 years between 1956 and 1987, Rybakov was the head of the Archaeological Institute of Moscow (called the Institute of the History of Material Culture before 1959)—the main archaeological institution of the country. Rybakov's life and activity is currently a matter of much debate. To some, he was a "science organizer," "an eminent scientist," and "an exceptional personality," while others see him as a very authoritarian and jealous leader, a Russian ultra-nationalist, and an anti-Semite.[62] According to the latter view, he was also the man of the Party. His publications, especially those of the years 1950–1980, were often considered fiction drafted

57 Aleksandr L. Mongajt, *Archaeology in the U.S.S.R.*, trans. M.W. Thompson (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1961).

58 Fedorov, *Bruschatka*, 74.

59 Fedorov, *Bruschatka*, 75.

60 Fedorov, *Bruschatka*, 74.

61 Fedorov, *Bruschatka*, 85–92.

62 Alekseĭ V. Chernetsov, "Krupnyi uchenyi, nepovtorimaia lichnost'. K 100-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia akademika Boris A. Rybakova," *Vestnik rossiiskoi Akademii nauk* 78/6 (2008): 538–543.

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with great talent, but completely devoid of credible arguments.[63] According to Leo Klejn, one of the leading historians of Soviet archaeology, Rybakov began to move away in the 1960s from proper archaeological research. Through his publications, he became a historian of art, a folklorist, and an ethnographer. He was also interested in the history of religions. In almost all those areas he used archaeological data, but, according to Klejn, he remained a dilettante, "talented, and brilliant," but a dabbler nonetheless.[64] In his memoirs, Fedorov seems to have agreed with Klejn's assessment. According to him, Rybakov may have been gifted, but also terribly vain. He did his best to please the masters of the Party. Fedorov may refer at this point to the many rewards that Rybakov received from the Soviet state. Apart from being the head of the Institute of Archaeology in Moscow, he was also vice-rector at the Moscow State University (1952–1954), director of the History Institute of the USSR (1969–1971), and chairman of the Coordinating Committee for Slavic Studies of the Academy of Sciences (1962–1969). He won several governmental awards. Among other things, Rybakov was a Hero of Socialist Labor, the highest distinction with which the Soviet regime rewarded exceptional merit in the field of economics and culture. He frequently traveled abroad as part of various official delegations, another sign of trust from the Party.[65]

Until the early 1950s, Fedorov was quite close to Rybakov. The two were visiting each other.[66] In 1950, at the time of Stalin's condemnation of Marr's linguistic theory, the two participated, as part of the same team, in the ideological campaign to eliminate the "the harmful consequences" of Marrism in archaeology.[67] Fedorov even shared Rybakov's opinion about the beginnings of the history of the Slavs and the Rus', which was in perfect harmony with the ideological climate of the time. However, this state of affairs did not last long. However, between 1950 and 1960, the two gradually began to grow apart. In 1952, when the anti-Semitic campaign in the USSR reached its apogee, Rybakov warned his former doctoral student that in his expeditions there were many "Jews and semi-Jews," of whom he had to get rid. Fedorov openly expressed his

63 Leo S. Klejn, *Voskreshenie Peruna. K rekonstruktsii vostochnoslavianskogo iazychestva* (Saint Petersburg: Evraziia, 2004), 68–80; Leo S. Klejn, "Akademik Rybakov i partiinaia liniia," *Troitskii variant* 73 (2011): 14; Klejn, *Istoriia Rossiiskoi Arkheologii, ucheniia*, T. 2, 192–218; Nekrich, *Otreshis'*, 176.

64 Klejn, *Istoriia Rossiiskoi Arkheologii, ucheniia*, T. 2, 205.

65 Sergeĭ S. Dmitriev, "Nachala puti v drevniuiu Rus'," *Novaia i noveishaia istoriia* 3 (1988): 223–225; Tat'iana I. Makarova and Svetlana A. Pletneva, "Ėtapy nauchnoĭ deiatel'nosti Boris A. Rybakova," *Novaia i noveishaia istoriia* 3 (1988): 225–227; Svetlana A. Pletneva and al., *Boris Aleksandrovich Rybakov* (Moscow: Nauka, 1978).

66 Fedorov, *Bruschatka*, 77; Mark Tkachuk, interview by Iurie Stamati, 2010, audio.

67 Fedorov, *Bruschatka*, 77–78.

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disagreement with that recommendation, and if his testimony was to be believed, he did so promptly and without any hesitation.[68] Stalin's death, which occurred shortly after that incident, put an end to the anti-Semitic campaign. But Rybakov apparently did not forget the divergence of opinions. After the Prague Spring of 1968, the Party intensified its struggle against the dissident movement. In that context, the KGB began to pay more attention to Fedorov's activity. He and his former students went through several interrogations. For Boris Rybakov, that was a great opportunity to settle accounts with Fedorov. Alongside the KGB, he was largely responsible for Fedorov being denied approval for further excavations in the MSSR and for publishing in specialized journals, with the exception of co-authored publications.[69] All that happened in the mid-1970s, but it seems that in the 1960s Fedorov was still hoping he would patch relations with Rybakov. In the second edition of one of his literary works published in 1966, he modeled the central and largely positive character of one of his short stories after Rybakov.[70] However, in the third "completed and reworked" edition of the same book, published in 1977, the story in question was eliminated, an indication that relations between the two archaeologists had turned sour.[71] At the same time, it was also possible that the 1966 story was Fedorov's subtle jab at Rybakov's vanity, for the title of the story is "How An Archaeologist Becomes God."[72]

68 Rybakov made his remarks at his house, during a dinner at which Fedorov was invited. This is how Fedorov remembered the discussion: "—Georgiĭ Borisovich [Borisovich is the surname derived from the name of Fedorov's father. The name and surname of a person were and are used in Russia in official contexts, but also to express respect]! In your expeditions there are too many Jews and semi-Jews. You have to get rid of them. / I was caught by surprise. If this discussion had taken place at the Institute, I would have known right away. But I was at home; I dined with him at his table." "But I choose people for their personal qualities, for their qualities as workers, not for their ethnicity. I muttered. /—You have to take this factor into account as well, said Rybakov categorically. But at that moment I recovered already. /—How shall I perceive your words, as an order or friendly advice? I enquired /—How will it be easier for you? /—As an order, of course. /—Then, perceive them as an order. /—In that case, be kind, put this in writing, as it should be: date, number, paragraph, signature. /—I will not write anything, growled Rybakov. /—But I don't follow oral orders. /—You might regret it. /—We'll see." Fedorov, *Bruschatka*, 77–78. The way Fedorov reacted seems to be fairly credible. As noted, the Jewish question was a very sensitive issue tor him. Moreover, according to one of his former Moldovan students, "Fedorov was not even afraid of the all-powerful Rybakov." Gheorghe Cebotarenko, interview by Iurie Stamati 2003, audio.

69 Tkachuk, "Georgiĭ Borisovich," 13.

70 Fedorov, *Dnevnaia* (1966), 303–306.

71 Fedorov, *Dnevnaia* (1977).

72 Fedorov, *Dnevnaia* (1966), 303.

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2.4 *Opting for Slavic Archaeology*

At the time he had registered for Artsikhovskiĭ's course, Fedorov was probably interested primarily in prehistoric archaeology. In his memoirs, speaking of the lectures given by his teacher and his own readings, Fedorov retained the names of the French speleologist Norbert Casteret, the Swedish prehistorian and anthropologist Hugo Obermaier, the American palaeontologist Henry Fairfield Osborn, and the Soviet archaeologist Pëtr Efimenko (a world-known archaeologist of the Paleolithic).[73] However, with his personality and spectacular excavation site, Artsikhovskiĭ made him opt for Slavic archaeology. Another factor that influenced Fedorov's choice of specialization was perhaps the pan-Slavist and Russian ideological ambience that had instilled into Soviet society a growing interest for the history of the Slavs in general, and of Russians and Russia in particular. For these reasons, Fedorov's theses of the first cycle and of candidate, respectively, dealt with subjects with no relation to medieval Russia, while his first autonomous archaeological excavations took place on a site attributed to the Slavs.[74]

2.5 *Fedorov's Know-how*

According the existing evidence, Artsikhovskiĭ was the one who had the greatest contribution in Fedorov's methodological training. It was on the basis on his works that Fedorov learned the method of what is now known as arbitrary (or "metrical") excavation, which consisted of removing layers of soil, each of twenty centimeters, that is to say, the length of the iron of a spade. It was precisely that procedure, which he called "the spade method," that Fedorov introduced to his Moldovan students.[75] On Artsikhovskiĭ's digs, Fedorov also learned to identify archaeological features by spots on the surface of a layer or according to changes in soil consistency and composition.[76]

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73 Fedorov, *Dnevnaia* (1977), 9–10.

74 Fedorov, *Bruschatka*, 75; Korzhavin, *V soblaznakh*, 668–669. In 1939, when he was still an undergraduate student, he received his first archaeological pass, an official document issued by the Institute of the History of Material Culture of the USSR Academy of Sciences which gave the holder the right to carry out excavations on his or her own. Before the beginning of his research in the MSSR, he carried out certain investigations which were not related to Slavic archaeology, but only for a brief while. Fedorov, *Dnevnaia* (1977), 25–26.

75 Boris A. Kolochin and Valentin L. Ianin, "Novgorodskaia arkheologicheskaia ėkspeditsiia (organizatsiia i metodika polevykh rabot v gorode)," in *Novoe v arkheologii. Sbornik statei, posviashchennyi 70-letiiu Artemiia Vladimirovicha Artsikhovskogo*, ed., Valentin L. Ianin (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1972), 18. For the methods of excavation in Moldova, see *Instruktsiia*, 7.

76 Avdusin, "Artemiĭ Vladimerovich," 30.

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Fedorov's belief in the efficacy of large, open-area excavations (as opposed to multiple trenches) was probably also adopted from Artsikhovskiĭ.[77] He did not reject, however, the utility of trench excavations. It is precisely with such trenches, usually arranged in the form of a cross, the letter "T" or the Cyrillic letter "Г" that, according to him, it was necessary to begin the study of any site.[78] On the other hand, it is difficult to assess the quality of excavations carried out by Fedorov, as opposed to that of his publications of excavation results. From the latter, the general site or feature plans, their exact coordinates, as well as detailed descriptions and illustrations of artefacts are conspicuously absent. Fedorov's use and display of statistical data was also sloppy. At times, indefinite pronouns are the only indication of quantity for both artefacts and features. According to some authors, some of his statements cannot be verified because the artefacts to which he referred cannot be found, and his own excavations reports had no descriptions or images.[79]

It would however be a mistake to single out Fedorov for such criticism. Such deficiencies were rather typical for the state of Soviet archaeology in the 1930s and 1950s. That much, at least, results from a letter that Vere Gordon Childe—who was well acquainted with, and, to some extent, even admired the Soviet school of archaeology—wrote in 1956 to some of his colleagues in the USSR. He rebuked them for the low quality of the archaeological work carried out in their country, in general, and of the Soviet archaeological publications, in particular.[80]

As for guiding principles of his research, Fedorov was no different from most other Soviet archaeologists, who had embraced the retrospective method. In addition, he was the main author of the excavation guide used by archaeologists in Moldova.[81] For ethnic attributions, he also used analogies.

During the first three archaeological campaigns in the MSSR, Fedorov and his colleagues identified and partially studied about 80 sites that they

77 Valentin L. Ianin, "Ocherk nauchnoĭ deiatel'nosti Artemiia Vladimirovicha Artsikhovskogo," in *Novoe v arkheologii. Sbornik statei, posviashchennyi 70-letiiu Artemiia Vladimirovicha Artsikhovskogo*, ed., Valentin L. Ianin (Moscow: Izd-vo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1972), 6.

78 *Instruktsiia*, 4 and 10.

79 Vladimir V. Beĭlikchi, "O gibeli gorodishcha Ekimautsy," *Soobshcheniia Rostovskogo muzeia* 9 (1998): 355–363; Tamara V. Ravdina, "O datirovke gorodishcha Alchedar," in *Srednevekovye pamiatniki Dnestrovsko-Prutskogo mezhdurech'ia*, ed., [Pavel Bîrnea] Pavel Byrnia (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1988), 54–71.

80 Klejn, *Fenomen*, 113–114.

81 *Instruktsiia*. There is no indication of authorship on the guide cover, but I have been able to identify the authors as Georgiĭ Fedorov and Pavel Bîrnea, one of his Moldovan students. Gheorghe Cebotarenko, interview by Iurie Stamati 2003, audio.

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attributed to the Eastern Slavs.[82] In 1974, the number of sites attributed to the Slavs rose to 290.[83] At the time, Fedorov and his former Moldovan students had at their disposal a large collection of artefacts which they used for ethnic interpretations. As I shall demonstrate in this chapter, the ideological atmosphere played a very important role in the way those material culture remains were interpreted. However, it is a gross mistake to claim that the only basis for Fedorov's ethnic interpretations were "ceramic debris found on the surface of the soil."[84]

3 Why the MSSR?

3.1 *The Search for the "Mysterious" Tribes*

Although an ideological interest in the archaeological identification of the Slavs in the territory of the MSSR manifested itself immediately after the reconstruction of the republic, after the Second World War, that interest bore no fruits before 1950. It was only with the arrival of Fedorov in that year that the Slavic problem truly became a research project. Moreover, his first campaigns in the MSSR were called the "Slavic-Dniester Expedition."[85] Although the name was later changed,[86] and despite the fact that Fedorov sometimes announced a broadening of the spectrum of problems under study, his campaigns in the MSSR for 25 years was determined had a single objective—the study of the Slavs.[87] It is precisely that question, notably the location of the Tivertsy and the Uliches that had brought Fedorov to the MSSR. According to several Russian

82 Fedorov, "Itogi trekhletnikh rabot," 8.

83 Georgiĭ B. Fedorov and [Gheorghe Cebotarenco] Georgiĭ F. Chebotarenko, *Pamiatniki drevnikh slavian, VI–XIII vv.* (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1974), 6.

84 Hîncu and Postică, "Despre greșeli," 6.

85 Fedorov, "Tivertsy," 250.

86 In 1953 the name was changed into "Moldovan Archaeological Expedition," then in the late 1950s into "Prut-Dniester Expedition." Georgiĭ B. Fedorov, "Itogi rabot v oblasti slavianskoĭ arkheologii v Moldavii," in *Tezisy dokladov na sesii, posviashchennoĭ istorii material'noĭ kul'tury na teritorii Moldavii*, ed., Akademiia Nauk SSSR (Moscow/Kishinev: Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1953), 7; Georgiĭ B. Fedorov, "Sovmestnye raboty Rumynskikh i sovetskikh arkheologov," *Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR* 2 (1958): 81.

87 In one of his activity reports, published in the early 1950s, Fedorov explained that for the years to come, besides the search for Slavic remains, his goal was to clarify the role of the Slavs in "the history of the Moldovan people, their state and their culture, and to identify the archaeological material that will enable us to develop a history of the material culture of all peoples who inhabited the territory of present-day Moldova, until the seventeenth century." Georgiĭ B. Fedorov, "Slaviane Podnestrov'ia (K itogam rabot slaviano-dnestrovskoĭ ėkspeditsii v 1951 godu)," *Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR* 2 (1952): 100.

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authors of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, including the historian and archaeologist Iuriĭ Got'e, those tribes inhabited Bessarabia and the Ukrainian region of Podolia. However, because of the ambiguity of the text in the Russian Primary Chronicle in which the tribes in question are mentioned, their location remained a matter of scholarly debate.[88]

Besides their location, the ethnic identification of the two tribes was also disputed. Some believed the Tivertsy to Slavs or a conglomerate of Slavs and Cumans; others regarded them as an ethnic group of Germanic origin or as Pechenegs. Still others saw them as Bulgarians, or as a group of tribes of different origins. Such ambiguity explains why to Russian historians both the Tivertsy and the Uliches appeared as "mysterious."[89] In the Slavo- and Russophile ideological climate after the Second World War, no one seemed to doubt that they were Slavs.[90] The only bone of contention was their exact whereabouts.[91] This was of course important several other Slavic tribes mentioned in the Russian Primary Chronicle has already been located by Aleksandr Spitsyn in the late the nineteenth century. Spitsyn's article dedicated to the "location of ancient Russian tribes according to the archaeological data" was most likely "one of the works that made him one of the most important Russian archaeologists."[92] Despite some later "clarifications and corrections," that article was and still remains quite popular among Russian archaeologists.[93]

Given its age and the veil of mystery around them, the problem of the Uliches and the Tivertsy had all the necessary appeal for archaeologists eager to make their way into the professional field, especially for young archaeologists who had not yet acquired their own archaeological "fiefs." Fedorov perfectly matched that profile. Around 1950, when he began his research in the MSSR,

88 Roman A. Rabinovich, "Ulichi i Tivertsy v otsenkakh istoriografii," *Stratum plus* 5 (2005), 440–484; Boris A. Rybakov, "Ulichi (Istoriko-geograficheskie zametki)," *Kratkie soobshcheniia o dokladakh i polevykh issledovaniiakh instituta istorii material'noĭ kul'tury* 35 (1950): 3; Valentin V. Sedov, *Vostochnye slaviane v VI–XIII vv.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1982), 129–132.

89 Fedorov, "Slaviane Podnestrov'ia," 127–128; Rybakov, "Ulichi," 3.

90 Derzhavin, *Proiskhozhdenie russkogo naroda*, 85–88; Vladimir V. Mavrodin, "Ocherk istorii drevneĭ Rusi do mongol'skogo zavoevaniia," in *Istoriia kul'tury drevneĭ Rusi*. T. 1, ed., Boris D. Grekov and Mikhail I. Artamonov (Moscow/Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1948), 9–10.

91 Rybakov, "Ulichi,".

92 Spitsyn, "Razselenie," 301–340.

93 Evgeniĭ A. Shinakov, "A.A. Spitsyn i vopros o rasselenii slavianskikh plemen na sovremennom etape izucheniia," in *Istoriia i praktika arkheologicheskikh issledovaniĭ. Materialy Mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoĭ konferentsii, posviashchennoĭ 150-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia chlena-korrespondenta AN SSSR, professora Aleksandra Andreevicha Spitsyna. Sankt-Peterburg, 26–30 noiabria 2008 g.*, ed., Evgeniĭ N. Nosov and Igor' L. Tikhanov (Saint Petersburg: Izdatel'skii Dom S.-Peterburgskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 2008), 212–220.

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he was still a "young researcher" looking for his archaeological "fief." After 1941, when he left the Red Army and began his professional career as an assistant to the chair of Archaeology at the Moscow State University, he participated in excavations in the Karakum Desert of Turkmenistan, as well as in work carried out in the Krasnodar region by the Extraordinary Committee for The Assessment of Damage Inflicted by the Nazi Army to the Historic, Archaeological and Artistic Heritage.[94] Immediately after the occupation of Lithuania by the USSR, Fedorov was the head of an archaeological team that carried out surveys in the region of Žemaitija in northwestern Lithuania.[95]

His interest in Slavic archaeology was the only consistent element of his burgeoning career. Fedorov carried out his first archaeological excavations on a site attributed to the ancient Slavs. His candidate and undergraduate thesis dealt with Russian medieval history. His interest in the Slavic problem was also visible in the choice of books that he reviewed, most of them dealing with the Slavic problem.[96] Fedorov is also the author of an article entitled "For a Soviet Baltic avant-garde archaeology," in which he very enthusiastically presented the outcome of a meeting on the results of the first Soviet archaeological study carried out in the Baltic Republics. In that article, Fedorov again insisted on Slavic traces in the history of the Baltic region.[97] Fedorov could have probably built a good career in Lithuania, but, unlike the MSSR, in the late 1940s there were already several archaeologists in the Baltic Republics working on the Slavic problem.[98]

3.2 *The Ideological Content*

According to the available data, Fedorov's visits to the MSSR were not a matter for the academic bureaucracy or the ideological bodies in Moscow. Fedorov himself started the project. According to some testimonies, it was him who convinced the leadership of the Institute of History of Material Culture in Moscow that excavations in the MSSR were of great importance.[99] In the Slavophile and pro-Russian ideological climate of the early 1950s, a scientific project

94 Fedorov, *Dnevnaia* (1977), 70–142.

95 Fedorov, *Dnevnaia* (1977), 111–148.

96 Georgiĭ B. Fedorov, "Obsuzhdenie knigi prof. P.N. Tret'iakova « Vostochnoslavianskie plemena »," *Vestnik drevneĭ istorii* 4 (1948): 117–124; Shovkoplias and Dmitrenko, *Arkheologiia Ukrainskoi SSR*, 367, 389 and 411.

97 Fedorov, "Za peredovuiu," 129–134.

98 Fedorov, "Za peredovuiu," 129–134; Leo S. Klejn, "Voprosy proiskhozhdeniia slavian v sbornike dokladov VI nauchnoĭ konferentsii Instituta arkheologii Akademii Nauk USSR," *Sovetskaia arkheologiia* 22 (1955): 257–272.

99 Vladimir Levin, "Dnevnaia poverkhnost' pamiati," *Novaia iunosti* 3 (1993). Available at http://vivovoco.astronet.ru/VV/PAPERS/BIO/FEDOROV.HTM (visit of June 21, 2018); Tkachuk, "Georgiĭ Borisovich," 8; Mark Tkachuk, interview by Iurie Stamati, 2010, audio.

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that envisioned the study of Slavic traces on a recently occupied territory must have been quite appealing. Moreover, his project, as Fedorov himself testifies, was well received by the political and academic administration of the MSSR.[100] He promised to clarify the role played by the Slavs in the genesis of the Moldovans, their culture, and even their medieval state, which endeared him to the local political and academic administration.[101] This was probably because his investigations were regarded as very useful for the construction of the myth of Moldovan-Russian-Ukrainian friendship.

As for the support of the KGB for Fedorov's activity, there is so far no credible evidence. It is highly probable that the only role of that institution in Fedorov's life was negative, for as noted, the KGB put a stop to his archaeological research in the MSSR. A final answer to questions about the nature of the relationship between the KGB and Fedorov would only be possible with access to his file, something that is impossible at this moment.

3.3 *"Sunny Moldova"*

The MSSR therefore became Fedorov's archaeological "fief." Interest in the Slavic problem was surely the main reason for Fedorov's return to that republic for 25 years of archaeological campaigns. His prolonged sojourns in the MSSR were apparently quite agreeable, a fact that surely contributed to the continuation of his Moldovan project. Like other inhabitants of Russia, Fedorov presumably believed in the benefits of the Moldovan climate. In one of his stories, he recounts that just after a stroke he had suffered in Moscow, he embarked again his annual archaeological campaign in the MSSR. He remained there for about seven months. His campsite was set up on the banks of the Dniester, in an oak and beech forest, with dogwood bushes and blackthorn. Towards the end of his stay, he had completely recuperated and was again "thriving."[102] This reminds one of Georgiĭ Sergeev, who in 1946 had moved to the MSSR following the recommendations of his doctor. To be sure, in the USSR, the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic was known as "Sunny Moldova." That was most likely the reason for Fedorov's expedition teams included many people from Moscow—writers, physicists, painters, and chemists—who wanted a vacation, albeit as ordinary diggers. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that in the MSSR, far from the archaeological elite of the country and its Moscow leaders (e.g., Boris Rybakov), Fedorov enjoyed a great degree of autonomy.[103]

100 Fedorov, "Slaviane Podnestrov'ia (K itogam rabot slaviano-dnestrovskoĭ ėkspeditsii v 1951 godu)," 101.

101 Fedorov, "Slaviane Podnestrov'ia (K itogam rabot slaviano-dnestrovskoĭ ėkspeditsii v 1951 godu)," 100.

102 Fedorov, *Bruschatka*, 146–148.

103 Klejn, *Istoriia Rossiiskoi Arkheologii, ucheniia*, T. 2, 518.

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It also seems that Fedorov was a very sociable and charming person, as well as a good storyteller, and he established good relations with many people in the MSSR.[104] First of all, as shown below, until the early 1970s, he was very close to most of his students. According to some, he was also in very good relations with Iakim Grosul, the president of the Academy of Sciences in the MSSR (1961–1976). In the 1960s, Fedorov could to visit his office unannounced.[105] Grosul even insisted that Fedorov move permanently to the MSSR and promised him an apartment and the prestigious title of corresponding member of the Moldovan Academy of Sciences.[106]

4 Fedorov and the First Generation of Moldovan Medievalist Archaeologists

4.1 *The Choice of Students*

The first time he came to the MSSR, it seems that Fedorov was not impressed. One of his Moldovan students remembered his first visit to Fedorov's home, in Moscow, in the early 1950s:

> I rang at the door of his apartment. His wife appeared. I introduced myself and according to the Romanian custom, I kissed her hand. Very impressed by that gesture which she obviously did not expect, she called her husband: "Zhora! Zhora![107] See it! He's your student from Moldova! He kissed my hand! And you who said that the Moldovans are primitives!"[108]

Several factors have undoubtedly contributed to Fedorov's image of that new Soviet republic and its population. His first visit to the MSSR was back in 1950. At that time, the MSSR had been within the USSR for six years. The traces of the upheavals through which that province and its inhabitants had gone in the 1940s were still visible, and some still unfolding. During his first visits, Fedorov discovered an almost completely agrarian province, impoverished by war and

104 Rapoport, *To li byl'*, 154; Korzhavin, *V soblaznakh*, 671.

105 Nicolae Chetraru, interview by Iurie Stamati, 2010, audio.

106 Gheorghe Cebotarenko, interview by Iurie Stamati 2003, audio. In the early 1970s, when Fedorov fell in disgrace with the KGB, the situation changed suddenly. At the beginning of one of his stays in the MSSR, he wanted, as usual, to visit Grosu, but his secretary informed him that his boss was very busy and that he had to put his name on a waiting list. Nicolae Chetraru, interview by Iurie Stamati, 2010, audio.

107 Zhora is a diminutive for the Russian name Georgiĭ.

108 Gheorghe Cebotarenko, interview by Iurie Stamati 2003, audio.

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abusive collectivization, a frightened and suspicious population terrorized by political repression, the famine of the years 1946–1947, and the massive deportations of 1949 and 1951 to Siberia and Kazakhstan.[109]

By destroying the former elite of Bessarabia, the central power in Moscow had taken the trouble to build another one. The new Soviet Moldovan Socialist Republic was to be a "National Moldova," destined to the Moldovan ethnic group. That is why the aim of the main scientific institution in the republic, the Moldovan Academy of Sciences and of its predecessor, the Base of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, was to train national cadres.[110] For all inconsistencies and retreats from the official policy, it is partly thanks to that that Moldavian students were included in Fedorov's first expeditions to the MSSR.[111] A short activity report for the year 1950 confirmed that situation. The anonymous author of the report took the trouble to point out that there were three Moldovan students in Fedorov's team, who "worked enthusiastically" and with "notable successes."[112]

Especially at the beginning, Fedorov's presence among Moldovans also had a pragmatic connotation, because his expeditions took place in rural areas, usually with the help of local inhabitants, many of whom did not yet speak Russian.[113] However, it seems that according to Fedorov, the students' desire to pursue a career in archaeology, and the demonstration of their abilities to follow such a specialization were equally if not more important than the reasons

109 King, *The Moldovans*, 95–96; Igor Caşu, *Duşmanul de clasă, Represiuni politice, violenţă şi rezistenţă în R(A)SS Moldovenească, 1924–1956* (Kishinev: Cartier, 2014), 189–301.

110 "Protokol proizvodstvennogo soveshchaniia Moldavskoĭ Nauchno-Issledovatel'skoĭ Bazy AN SSSR ot 16 aprelia 1949 g. Doklad direktora Bazy chl.-korr. AN SSSR tov. P.A. Baranova o zadachiakh i napravlenii nauchnoĭ raboty Bazy," in *Protokoly za 1949.* (AAŞRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1, Nr. 13, 1949); "Protokol № 15 Zasedaniia Prezidiuma Moldavskogo Filiala AN SSSR ot 5 oktiabria 1951 g.," in *Protokoly zasedanii Prezidiuma MF AN SSSR za 1951 god.* (AAŞRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1, Nr. 31, 1951).

111 The policy of "national frameworks" to be supposedly implemented in all spheres of activity of the MSSR was not followed to the letter. That is why it was only partially successful and quite late. The main explanation is the mistrust of the central government towards the inhabitants of ancient Bessarabia. They had lived more than two decades in a capitalist and nationalist Romania. The population of Bessarabia was therefore suspected of having been "infected" with an anti-Soviet ideology. To create a new "Moldovan Soviet" elite, one needed time. That is why the most important places in the Moldovan Communist Party in the administration, economy and science of the MSSR were mainly occupied by people from other parts of the Soviet Union, especially from the former MASSR. King, *The Moldovans*, 98–99 and 134; Meurs, *Chestiunea*, 164–168.

112 "Otchet o nauchno-issledovatel'skoĭ deiatel'nosti Instituta istorii, iazyka i literatury Moldavskogo Filiala AN SSSR za 1950 god. Sektor istorii i arkheologii," in *Materialy po otchotu za 1950 g.* (AAŞRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1, Nr. 22, 1950).

113 Gheorghe Cebotarenko, interview by Iurie Stamati 2003, audio.

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already stated. That is why among Fedorov's students who pursued careers in archaeology there were two Moldovans, two Jews, and even a student who declared himself to be Romanian.

Often in the USSR and in other Communist countries, relatives of a person persecuted by the regime had difficulties in accessing institutions of higher education or in obtaining a professional promotion. Usually, the various decision-makers, rectors, heads of faculty, professors, or employers, distrusted such persons. In the case of Fedorov, there is no corresponding information. His team included a student who made a career in archaeology, despite the fact that his father had been declared an "enemy of the people" and had been executed by the NKVD. It is precisely with him that I will begin the presentation of Fedorov's students, who later became the first generation of Moldovan medieval archaeologists.

4.2 *Fedorov' Students: Portrait Sketches*

Gheorghe Cebotarenco (1927–2014)

Gheorghe Cebotarenco was born into a family of teachers in a village of northern Bessarabia. He underwent primary education at the time when the region was part of the Romanian Kingdom. According to his testimony, he was supposed to continue his studies in Bucharest, at "Sfântul Sava" High School, one of Romania's most important institutions of secondary education. Several personalities of the political and cultural life of the country studied there, including the last king, Mihai I.[114] The occupation of Bessarabia by the USSR changed his plans. In 1944, at the age of fifteen, he began his studies at a Soviet school specializing in the preparation of agricultural specialists. In 1947 he was an instructor at a school of mechanics. In 1948, at the age of eighteen, like all Soviet citizens of that age, he had to perform his military service. Because of his record as the son of an "enemy of the people," no army chief wanted him. Finally, he was sent to a Nuclear Research Institute. The young Cebotarenco was happy that in the end he was entrusted with the "noble status of protector of the Soviet homeland." His joy ended when a Soviet recruiting officer took pity on his naiveté and explained what it really meant to perform military service at the Nuclear Research Institute. Cebotarenco learned that as the son of an "enemy of the people" he would have to work in a uranium mine where there was little chance of survival. According to the officer's advice, his entry into one of the Moldovan universities, given the lack of national cadres, was the only way out. The Faculty of History of the "Ion Creangă" Pedagogical Institute in the Moldovan capital, was the only institution that accepted Cebotarenco as a student. It was in that way that in 1948 he began his studies of history.

114 Gheorghe Cebotarenko, interview by Iurie Stamati 2003, audio.

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FIGURE 3 Gheorghe Cebotarenco (1927–2014) *INSTITUT ISTORII. MLADSHIĬ NAUCHNYĬ SOTRUDNIK CHEBOTARENKO GEORGIĬ FEOKTISTOVICH, 1953–1976* (AAȘRM. FOND 1, OPIS' 3, NR. 5012, 1953–1976)

In the same year, he attended a conference on the appearance of the Moldavian medieval state. Cebotarenco was intrigued by what had happened in Moldavia before the rise of the state. It was precisely on that subject that he questioned one of the speakers. The answer was disconcerting and encouraging at the same time:

> The lack of written data aimed at the period before the creation of the Moldavian state made sure that it was up to the archaeologists to look into it. Unfortunately, at present our republic does not have enough specialists to conduct such research. So it is up to you, the young people, the future archaeologists to answer it, and you if you are interested, you can be one of them.[115]

115 Gheorghe Cebotarenko, interview by Iurie Stamati 2003, audio.

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Soon after the conference, Cebotarenco made his first visit to Georgiĭ Smirnov's laboratory. He received a few boxes full of potsherds and without much explanation he was asked to reconstruct whole forms of pots, which he did, in his own words, during "an entire winter."[116] In 1949, Cebotarenco participated in his first archaeological excavation. One year later, Fedorov arrived in the MSSR, and Cebotarenco was among the first to be recommended to him as assistant. This was the year in which their collaboration began. No doubt, it was with Fedorov's support that in 1953 Cebotarenco obtained a position as archaeologist. Under his supervision, Cebotarenco started his own excavations, prepared and in 1968 defended his candidate thesis dealing with an archaeological site situated in the Lower Dniester region and dated between the eighth and the tenth centuries.[117]

The son of an "enemy of the people" was eventually able to fulfill his career goals. In his academic file, it was noted that the candidate in historical sciences, Gheorghe Cebotarenco was "politically competent and morally stable."[118] However, to protect himself, in his official autobiographies written during the Soviet Era, Cebotarenco always maintained that his parents had divorced in 1941 and that ever since, he had lived only with his mother and with his sister.[119] In addition, archival documents showed that, as an archaeologist, he was careful not to contradict the official historiography.[120]

Pavel Bîrnea (1930–2002)

Pavel Bîrnea was born in a village of southern Bessarabia, in an ethnically mixed family of peasants: his father was Romanian, and his mother, according

116 Gheorghe Cebotarenko, interview by Iurie Stamati 2003, audio.

117 *Institut istorii. Mladshiĭ Nauchnyĭ sotrudnik Chebotarenko Georgiĭ Feoktistovich, 1953–1976.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 3, Nr. 5012, 1953–1976); *Lichnoe delo starshego nauchnogo sotrudnika Chebotarenko Georgiia Feoktistovicha, 1977–1990.* (AAȘRM. Fond 24, Opis' 3, Nr. 42, 1977–1990).

118 "Kharakteristika na starshego nauchnogo sotrudnika sektora slavianskoĭ i moldvskoi arkheologii Otdela ėtnografii i iskusstvovedeniia AN MSSR Chebotarenko Georgiia Feoktistovicha za period raboty v 1981–1985 gg.," in *Lichnoe delo starshego nauchnogo sotrudnika Chebotarenko Georgiia Feoktistovicha, 1977–1990.* (AAȘRM. Fond 24, Opis' 3, Nr. 42, 1977–1990).

119 [Gheoghe Cebotarenco] Georgiĭ F. Chebotarenko, "Avtobiografia, 1974 g.," in *Institut istorii. Mladshiĭ Nauchnyĭ sotrudnik Chebotarenko Georgiĭ Feoktistovich, 1953–1976.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 3, Nr. 5012, 1953–1976); [Gheorghe Cebotarenco] Georgiĭ F. Chebotarenko, "Avtobiografiia Chebotarenko Georgiia Feoktistovicha, 1977g.," in *Lichnoe delo starshego nauchnogo sotrudnika Chebotarenko Georgiia Feoktistovicha, 1977–1990.* (AAȘRM. Fond 24, Opis' 3, Nr. 42, 1977–1990).

120 Iu. Stamati, "In Memoriam Gheorghe Cebotarenco, Alias Papa Iura (1927–2014), Un reprezentant a primei generații de arheologi medieviști din Republica Moldova," *Plural: history, culture, society* 1–2 (2014): 236–237.

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FIGURE 4
Pavel Bîrnea (1930–2002)
DOSARUL PERSONAL AL DOCTORULUI HABILITAT BÂRNEA PAVEL. FOND 24, OPIS' 3, NR. 93 (CAIPC)

to some testimonies, was of Bulgarian origin. Like Cebotarenco, he did his primary school studies at the time when Bessarabia belonged to Romania.[121] In the official documents, he always presented himself as Romanian,[122] and refused the advice of his Moscow's professor to declare himself Moldovan instead.[123] Because the Romanian ethnic identity was not well seen, Bîrnea experienced some difficulties, especially at the time of his doctoral studies, as well as later, when for several years he was unable to obtain the appropriate permits to travel to Romania for study.[124] According to some testimonies, his ethnicity also caused problems in 1977 or 1978, when Bîrnea's name was first placed on the list of candidates for the leadership of the archaeological sector

121 Nicolae Chetraru, interview by Iurie Stamati, 2010, audio.

122 "Lichnyi listok po uchetu kadrov, 195[?]," in *Dosarul personal al doctorului habilitat Bârnea Pavel.* Fond 24, Opis' 3, Nr. 93 (CAIPC); "Lichnyi listok po uchetu kadrov, 1984," in *Dosarul personal al doctorului habilitat Bârnea Pavel.* Fond 24, Opis' 3, Nr. 93 (CAIPC); "Avtobiografia Byrni Pavla Petrovicha, 1984," in *Dosarul personal al doctorului habilitat Bârnea Pavel.* Fond 24, Opis' 3, Nr. 93 (CAIPC).

123 Tkachuk, "Georgiĭ Borisovich," 10.

124 Ot redaktsii, "Za strokoi biografii. K 70-letiiu Pavla Petrovicha Byrni," *Stratum plus* 5 (2000): 13.

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of the Academy of Sciences of MSSR.[125] In the end, these difficulties disappeared without him changing his ethnicity.

Bîrnea's professional career was quite successful. Without any obstacle, he was able to publish the results of his scientific projects. His contribution to archaeology and the medieval history of the MSSR was recognized by his peers and by the Moldovan academic bureaucracy. In his file, I found a sentence similar to that concerning in Cebotarenco. Like his colleague, Bîrnea was described as "politically competent, ideologically submissive and morally stable."[126] In 1978, despite his ethnicity, he became the head of Moldovan archaeology, a position he held for the following twelve years. Moreover, in 1987 he became Doctor of Historical Sciences, the highest scientific title awarded in the USSR, on the basis of his thesis entitled "The medieval Moldavian city from the fifteenth until the beginning of the sixteenth century." He was the first archaeologist of the MSSR to receive that title.[127]

For Bîrnea, much like for Cebotarenco, it all started with his admission to the Faculty of History in 1949, but unlike his colleague, he studied at the State University. In 1950, he began working alongside Cebotarenco in Fedorov's expeditions. Just like Cebotarenco, Pavel Bîrnea had the support of his teacher. It was surely with his letters of recommendation that he was hired in 1957 at the Research Base of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, the predecessor of the Academy of Sciences of the MSSR. It was also under Fedorov's supervision that in 1965 he defended his candidate thesis, "Moldavian villages from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century."[128]

Lazar' Polevoĭ (1928)

Lazar' Polevoĭ was born in the region of Mykolaiv, in south-western Ukraine, into a Jewish family. Before 1944, the date of his final move to the MSSR, he lived in Russia and Tajikistan. In the MSSR, he resumed his studies in a primary school in Kishinev. Polevoĭ, like Bîrnea, studied history at the State University. In 1951, after finishing his studies, he was hired as a history teacher in a primary school. But his pedagogical career ended after a few months. From 1952 to 1956, he carried out administrative tasks in the direction of the Research Base of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. He participated in archaeological excavations, many of them directed by Fedorov. In 1956, Polevoĭ obtained

125 Nicolae Chetraru, interview by Iurie Stamati, 2010, audio.

126 "Kharakteristika na zaveduiushchego sektotom arkheologii Otdela ėtnografii i iskusstvovedeniia Akademii nauk MSSR, kandidat istoricheskikh nauk t. Byrniu P.P.," in *Dosarul personal al doctorului habilitat Bârnea Pavel.* Fond 24, Opis' 3, Nr. 93 (CAIPC).

127 Ot redaktsii, "Za strokoi," 11.

128 Ot redaktsii, "Za strokoi," 11.

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FIGURE 5
Lazar' Polevoĭ (1928–)
LICHNOE DELO POLEVOGO LAZARIA L'VOVICHA
(AAȘRM. FOND 48, OPIS' 3, NR. 89)

his position as a researcher in the same institution, and officially began his career as archaeologist. In 1964, under the direction of Fedorov, he defended his candidate thesis, "The ceramic production and pottery of Moldavia in the fourteenth century. The beginning of urban production." In 1989, after his colleague Bîrnea, he became the second and last archaeologist of the MSSR to receive the title of doctor in historical sciences. In the 1970s, alongside these archaeological concerns, Polevoĭ became interested in history, for the study of which he used written, toponymical and linguistic sources.[129] At the end of the 1980s, an Institute of National Minorities with several sections, including one on Judaic Studies, was set up within the framework of the Academy of Sciences of the MSSR. From 1991 to 1992, Polevoĭ was a researcher in that section, focusing on the history of the Jews of Bessarabia. In 1992 he retired and left Moldova, who had become an independent state, to settle in the United States.[130]

Isak Rafalovich (1929–1979)

Isak Rafalovich was born into a Jewish family of office workers in the capital of the MASSR. Just before the Second World War, he and his family lived in the

129 Lazar' L. Polevoĭ, *Ocherki istoricheskoi geografii Moldavii XIII–XV vv.* (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1979); Polevoĭ, "O khoziaistvenno-kul'turnom tipe," 44–62; Lazar' L. Polevoĭ, *« ... i s togo vremeni nachalas' Zemlia Moldavskaia »* (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1990).

130 *Lichnoe delo Polevogo Lazaria L'vovicha.* (AAȘRM. Fond 48, Opis' 3, Nr. 89); Aleksandr Polevoĭ, "« Ob'ektivka » ot mladshevo syna," *Stratum plus* 6 (2010): 17–18; Ivan Grek, "Glubokiĭ issledovatel' i skromnyi chelovek," *Stratum plus* 6 (2010): 21–22.

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FIGURE 6
Isak Rafalovich (1929–1979)
INSTITUT ISTORII, SEKTORA ARKHEOLOGII STARSHIĬ NAUCHNYI SOTRUDNIK RAFALOVICH ISAK ALEKSANDROVICH, 1960–1979 (AAȘRM. FOND 1, OPIS' 3, NR. 5881, 1960–1979)

capital of the new MSSR. During the Second World War, he was evacuated to Cheliabinsk, a town on the eastern part of the Ural Mountains. At the time, Cheliabinsk was an important industrial center specializing in the production of military equipment. The young Rafalovich worked in one of those military factories, but also in a local printing house. After the war, he returned to the MSSR with his family, and resumed primary school. From 1949 to 1954, he was a faculty colleague of Bîrnea. The beginning of his participation in Fedorov's expeditions was in 1952, two years later than his colleague. From the end of his university studies until 1960, when he obtained his position as an archaeologist in the same institution as the rest of Fedorov's students, he taught history in a primary school. At the same time, each year during his summer holidays, he carried out archaeological surveys for the archaeological sector of the Research Base of the USSR Academy of Sciences and participated in Fedorov's expeditions along with his future colleagues. In 1969, under Fedorov's supervision, Rafalovich defended his candidate thesis, "The ancient Slavs in Moldavia from the sixth to the ninth Century."[131]

131 *Institut istorii, sektora arkheologii starshiĭ nauchnyi sotrudnik Rafalovich Isak Aleksandrovich, 1960–1979.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 3, Nr. 5881, 1960–1979).

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FIGURE 7
Ion Hîncu (1931–2003)
LICHNOE DELO STARSHEGO NAUCHNOGO SOTRUDNIKA KHYNKU IVANA GEORGIEVICHA (AAȘRM. FOND 24, OPIS' 3, NR. 42, 1973–1990)

Ion Hîncu (1931–2003)

Chronologically, Ion Hîncu was the last of Fedorov's students to join the team. Gheorghe Cebotarenco liked to believe that he had been the one who had convinced Hîncu to become an archaeologist.[132] What is certain is that both studied at the same "Ion Creangă" Pedagogical Institute, although Ion Hîncu began his studies three years later. However, he was the first Moldovan archaeologist to defend his candidate thesis under Fedorov, an event that took place in 1957. His thesis was on the "Ceramic production in the villages of Moldavia from the sixth to the seventeenth century."[133]

Hîncu was born in a village in the central Bessarabia, in a family of Moldovan peasants. Before his studies at the Faculty of History, he went through a school of music and another of agriculture, without finishing any of them. In the same year in which he defended his candidate thesis, he obtained his position as an archaeologist. From 1975 to 1977, he was the head of the archaeological sector of the Academy of Sciences of the MSSR.

132 Gheorghe Cebotarenko, interview by Iurie Stamati 2003, audio.

133 Postică, ed., *Ion Hâncu*, 6; *Lichnoe delo starshego nauchnogo sotrudnika Khynku Ivana Georgievicha.* (AAȘRM. Fond 24, Opis' 3, Nr. 42, 1973–1990).

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Although Rafalovich, Bîrnea or Polevoĭ did not always agree with Fedorov's ideas, but their respective disagreements were never as serious as that between Fedorov and Ion Hîncu.[134] Hîncu's relations with Fedorov and even with his colleagues gradually turned sour in the 1960s.[135] In the next chapter, I will study the case of Ion Hîncu more closely, including the reasons for that rupture. For the moment, is important to note that at least until the early 1970s, Hîncu could easily pass for a member of the "Fedorov group." At least that was how he was perceived by Fedorov's former professor, the all-powerful Boris Rybakov. According to some testimonies, it was because of Rybakov's intervention that in 1970, when the post of head of the archaeological sector became vacant, that Ion Hîncu's candidature was firmly rejected.[136]

4.3 *The Collaboration between Fedorov and His Former Students*

Until Fedorov's removal from the archaeological research of MSSR and active archaeology in general, the collaboration with his former students, except perhaps Ion Hîncu, was quite close. They often participated in the same excavations. Just like their teacher, those former students, welcomed dissidents in their expedition teams.[137] They were co-authors of several articles and monographs.[138] However, in the early 1970s, when the KGB began paying more attention to Fedorov's activity and interviewed his former Moldovan students, perhaps with the exception of Ion Hîncu and Isak Rafalovich, they all proved too "talkative," a fact that greatly disappointed Fedorov.[139] As a result, some of them probably had to beg for the forgiveness of their former professor. There is no other explanation for the dedication that Georgiĭ Fedorov wrote on the first page of a literary volume he had published in 1977 and now offered to Gheorghe Cebotarenco as a present: "To a faithful friend and student …" Under the supervision of Fedorov, in the early 1980s, the same Cebotarenco published

134 Rikman and Rafalovich, "K voprosu o sootnosheniĭ," 42–57; [Pavel Bîrnea] Pavel P. Byrnia, "K probleme gradoobrazovaniia v Podnestrov'e v period rannego srednevekov'ia," in *Drevnosti Iugo-Zapada SSSR, I–ser. II tys. n.e.*, ed., [Pavel Bîrnea] Pavel P. Byrnia (Kishinev: Stiintsa, 1991), 186–205.

135 Gheorghe Cebotarenko, interview by Iurie Stamati 2003, audio.

136 Nicolae Chetraru, interview by Iurie Stamati, 2010, audio.

137 Gheorghe Cebotarenko, interview by Iurie Stamati 2003, audio; Nicolae Chetraru, interview by Iurie Stamati, 2010, audio.

138 Fedorov and [Cebotarenco] Chebotarenko, *Pamiatniki*; Fedorov and Polevoĭ, *Arkheologiia Rumynii*.

139 Roshal'-Stroeva, "KGB i arkheologiia"; Mark Tkachuk, interview by Iurie Stamati, 2010, audio.

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one of his monographs.[140] Both are among the authors of another monograph published at the beginning of the same decade.[141] With Lazar' Polevoĭ, Fedorov signed an article in a specialized journal in the MSSR.[142] As I will show see in more detail in the next chapter, according to some testimonials, his former students Rafalovich, Cebotarenco Bîrnea and Polevoĭ closed ranks around him against Hîncu.

In 1975, with the assistance of KGB and Boris Rybakov, Fedorov's Moldovan expeditions officially ended. Shortly afterwards, Fedorov tried, without success, to publish his second monograph, *The People of the Prut-Dniester Interfluve and the Left Bank of the Lower Danube Between The End of The First Millennium and The Beginning of The Second Millennium*, which had apparently been completed in 1974.[143] His first monograph had been published in 1960 under the title *The Population of the Prut-Dniester Interfluve in the First Millennium of Our Era*.[144] According to the available information, in 1978 Fedorov was in the MSSR for the last time.[145] I do not know exactly on what site he was and in whose excavations he participated, but I can assume with great certainty that it was one of his former students.

The last time that Georgiĭ Fedorov attempted to return to the problem of Moldovan medieval archaeology was in the late 1980s. He made a second, equally unsuccessful effort to publish his monograph, this time appealing to

140 [Gheorghe Cebotarenco] Georgiĭ F. Chebotarenko, *Naselenie tsentral'noi chasti Dnestrovsko-Prutskogo mezhdurech'ia v X–XII vv.* (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1982).

141 Georgiĭ B. Fedorov and al., *Braneshtskii mogil'nik X–XI vv.* (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1984).

142 Georgiĭ B. Fedorov and Lazar' L. Polevoĭ, "Rimliane v Karpato-Dunaiskikh zemliakh i kul'tura mestnogo naseleniia II–V vv. n.e.," in *Slaviano-moldavskie sviazi i rannie ėtapy ėtnicheskoi istorii Moldavan*, ed., Valentin S. Zelenchuk, and al. (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1983), 5–20.

143 "Protokol № 4 zasedaniia sektora arkheologii i drevneĭ istorii Instituta istorii AN MSSR ot 29 ianvaria 1976 goda," in *Protokoly zasedanii sektora arkheologii za 1976 g.* (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 141, 1976); Tkachuk, "Georgiĭ Borisovich," 9; N. Tel'nov and al., *"... I razoshlis'slaviane po zemle" Iz istorii Karpato-Dnestrovskikh zemel' VI–XIII vv.* (Kishinev: Vysshaia antropologicheskaia shkola, 2002), 226.

144 Georgiĭ B. Fedorov, *Naselenie Prutsko-Dnestrovskogo mezhdurech'ia v I tysiacheletiĭ n.e.* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1960). Apart from these two monographs, Fedorov is the co-author of three other monographs. See Fedorov and [Cebotarenco] Chebotarenko, *Pamiatniki*; Fedorov and Polevoĭ, *Arkheologiia Rumynii*; Fedorov and al., *Braneshtskii mogil'nik*. As we will see in the next chapter, in 1999 the Moldovan archaeological journal *Stratum Plus* published on its pages a monograph, claiming that its author was Fedorov. His paternity was, however, questioned by the Moldovan archaeologist Gheorghe Postică.

145 "Spisok uchenykh, priezzhavshikh v 1978 godu v Akademiiu nauk Moldavskoĭ SSR dlia okazaniia nauchnoĭ pomoshchi i chteniia lektsii," in *Otchet NIU Otdeleniia obshch. Nauk za 1978 g., II chast'.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1, Nr. 393, 1978).

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his former student Pavel Bîrnea who was at that time the head of the archaeological sector of the MSSR Academy of Sciences.[146] In 1990 or 1991, Fedorov left Russia to settle in the United Kingdom. He died there in 1993.[147]

5 The Slavic Saga on the Territory of the MSSR According to Fedorov

5.1 *The Uliches or the Tivertsy?* The Historiographical Context

Several theories existed in Russian historiography, before it became Soviet, about the geographical location of the Uliches and the Tivertsy.[148] Debates around that topic were primarily caused by the vague character of the written sources. As noted, the main source of information about both tribes is the Russian Primary Chronicle. In the nineteenth century, when interest in those two tribes grew, the original version of the chronicle had already been lost. That text had most likely been written between the late eleventh and the early twelfth century presumably on the basis on even earlier texts believed to have been written in the first half of the eleventh century. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century historians had access only to fragments of that chronicle copy in various stages between the twelfth and the sixteenth century, from the original or from other copies, and then incorporated into later chronicles.[149] This work of compilation, done by different people, over time, and in different places, led to the appearance of certain variations in redaction and, consequently, the emergence of different narratives concerning the medieval past of the region. This was definitely the case with the location of the Uliches and Tivertsy. According to one of those chronicle versions, the Uliches and the Tivertsy inhabited the territory between the Dniester River and the Black Sea, i.e., Bessarabia and its immediate surroundings.[150] According to another

146 Mark Tkachuk, interview by Iurie Stamati, 2010, audio.

147 Roshal'-Stroeva, "Posleslovie," 298.

148 Rabinovich, "Ulichi i Tivertsy," 442–461.

149 Igor' N. Danilevskiĭ, *Povest' vremennykh let: germenevticheskie osnovy istochnikovedeniia letopisnykh tekstov* (Moscow: Aspekt Press, 2004), 76–83; Vladimir Ia. Petrukhin, "Drevniaia Rus': Narod. Kniaz'ia. Religiia," in *Iz istorii russkoi kul'tury*. T. 1 (Moscow: Iazyki russkoi kul'tury, 2000), 16.

150 It is precisely that version which was used by Russian historians interested in Bessarabia. Pompeĭ N. Batiushkov, ed., *Bessarabiia: istoricheskoe opisanie* (Saint Petersburg: Obshchestvennaia Pol'za, 1892), 21–22; Alekseĭ Nakko, *Istoriia Bessarabii: s drevnieishikh "vremen"*. T. 1 (Odessa: Tipografiia Ul'rikha i Shul'tse, 1875), 776–780; Aleksandr F. Vel'tman, *Nachertanie drevneĭ istorii Bessarabii* (Moscow: V Tipografii Semena Selivanovskago, 1828), 34; Aleksandr Zashchuk, *Bessarabskaia oblast': Materialy dlia geografii i statistiki*

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version, however, the two peoples lived between the Dnieper, the Bug and the Black Sea, i.e., outside the territory of Bessarabia, to the east. Some have consequently placed the two tribes between the Dniester and the Danube, pointing out that initially, their dwellings were located somewhere between the Bug, the Dnieper and the Black Sea. Finally, there is another version of the chronicle which mentions only the Uliches, stating that they lived between the Bug and the Dniester, and originated from the Lower Dnieper.[151]

In the Soviet historiography of the 1950s, the interpretation of the chronicles that enjoyed the greatest popularity in relation to the geography and history of those tribes was that of Boris Rybakov. He developed his theory in an article published in 1950.[152] According to Rybakov, the history of the Uliches begins between the first and the third centuries on the right bank of the Lower Dnieper. Their lands were located until ca. 900 on the lower course of the Dnieper next to the Black Sea. Around 900, under pressure from the Pechenegs, the Uliches moved to the north, along the Dnieper, to distance of about twenty kilometers from Kiev. It is important to note that there is a mention in the Russian Primary Chronicle of a town of the Uliches called Peresechena, which was occupied in 940 by the armies of Igor, the ruler of Kiev, after a three-year siege. Nothing is known about the whereabouts of Peresechena, and the location of the town was another topic of debate in Russian historiography.[153] Some placed the town in the valley of the Dnieper near Kiev, others identified it with village

Rosii (Saint Petersburg, 1862), 6. Until the early 1950s, and almost until the Fedorov's arrival in the MSSR, most Soviet historians, including historians of the MSSR, continued to rely exclusively on that version. Lev S. Berg', *Bessarabiia: strana—liudi—khoziaistvo* (Saint Petersburg: Ogni, 1918), 52; Nikolaĭ S. Derzhavin, "Proiskhozhdenie moldavskogo naroda," *Sovetskaia nauka* 12 (1940): 20–21; Naum Nartsov, "Istoricheskie sud'by Bessarabii i Moldavii (kratkii ocherk)," *Istorik-marksist* 9/85 (1940): 86; Vasiliĭ M. Senkevich, "Istoricheskie puti razvitiia Sovetskoĭ Moldavii," in *Moldova Sovetikė*, ed., Fedor F. Gerlimanov and Vasiliĭ M. Senkevich (Tiraspol: Editura de Stat a Moldovei, 1939), 23; Aleksandr D. Udal'tsov and Lev V. Cherepnin, ed., *Istoriia Moldavii* (*Ot drevneishikh vremen do velikoi oktiabr'skoi sotsialisticheskoi revoliutsii*). T. 1 (Kishinev: Shkoala sovetikė, 1951), 50; Zasurtsev, "Slavianskie poselenia," 102–103.

151 Vladimir N. Shaposhnikov, "Struktura pis'mennykh pamiatnikov i semantika ėtnicheskikh znakov (« Ulichi »–«Tivertsy»)," *Ėtnograficheskoe obozrenie* 5 (1994): 117–122.

152 In his article, Rybakov focuses on the location of the Uliches, but clearly indicates how the question of Tivertsy must be resolved. Rybakov, "Ulichi," 3–17.

153 Rabinovich, "Ulichi i Tivertsy," 442–478; Roman A. Rabinovich, "V poiskakh dostovernoi lokalizatsii letopisnogo Peresechena," in *V kamne i v bronze\In stone and bronze, Sbornik statei v chest' Anny Peskovoi*, ed., Aleksandr E. Musin and Ol'ga A. Shcheglova (Saint Petersburg: Institut istorii material'noĭ kul'tury RAN, 2017), 485–498.

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by the same name in central Bessarabia.[154] Still, others believed that after Igor conquered Peresechena on the Dnieper in 940, the Uliches built another town in Bessarabia, which they named the same in memory of their first town.[155]

Rybakov roughly followed the latter version, as he believed the first Peresechena to have been built some 20 km to the south from Kiev, within the lands to which the Uliches had moved because of the pressure of the Pechenegs. As for the village in Bessarabia\MSSR with the same name, Rybakov was not very clear. On the one hand, he maintained that after their defeat by Igor, the Uliches settled between the Bug and the Dniester, which can only mean that they never settled in Bessarabia\MSSR. On the other hand, like his predecessors, he admitted the possibility that Peresechena in Bessarabia\MSSR was the town that the Uliches had built in memory of their ancient center.

In any case, according to Rybakov, by settling between the Bug and the Dniester, the Uliches became the neighbors of the Tivertsy. That tribe inhabited the right bank of the Dniester. It is there that, according to Rybakov's argument, the history of the Tivertsy began shortly after the year 1000.[156]

It is worth pointing out that both Uliches and Tivertsy appear in the Russian Primary Chronicle in the context of certain events that occurred dated between the late ninth century and the first half of the tenth century. Rybakov nonetheless pushed the history of the two tribes to the first and third centuries AD. In order to justify such a chronological leap of faith, Rybakov used the information contained in the works of some Greek authors of the Antiquity and the Middle Age. Thus, Strabo, in the seventh book of his *Geography*, noted the existence of a people called Urgi living somewhere between the Lower Danube and the Dnieper. Zosimus, writing in the sixth century, recorded the presence of Urugundi somewhere near the Danube. To Rybakov, Urgi, Urugundi, and Uliches were names of one and the same people. Moreover, relying on Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus's *On the Administration of the Empire*, who noted the existence of a people named Lenzanenes people, but not its location, Rybakov advanced the idea that the name of Lenzanenes was in fact

154 Nikolaĭ Karamzin, "Primechaniia k I tomu Istorii gosudarstva Rossiiskago," in *Istoriia gosudarstva Rossiiskago* by Nikolaĭ Karamzin. First bouk, T. 1, 2, 3, 4, ed., Dmitriĭ S. Likhachev and Sigurd O. Shmidt (Moskow: Kniga, 1988), 98; Nadezhdin, "O mestopolozhenii," 248–249.

155 Sergeĭ M. Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rosii s drevneishikh vremen*. First bouk, T. 1–5 (Saint Petersburg: Izdanie Vysochaishe utverzhdennago Tovarishchestva «Obshchestvennaia Pol'za», 1851), 48.

156 In this article, Rybakov did not refer directly to the territory of the MSSR. But, according to all the evidence, he continued to think about the topic, for in another article published later, he called its inhabitants of the fourth century, Tivertsy. Boris A. Rybakov, "Kalendar' IV v. iz zemli polian," *Sovetskaia arkheologiia* 4 (1962): 67.

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the Greek translation of an Old Russian expression which meant, "inhabitants of the meander of the Dnieper." Those, he concluded, could only have been the Uliches. It was in that way that he finally placed the original country of the Uliches on the right bank of the Lower Dnieper. But he did not stop there.

In the 1940s, some Soviet scholars located in that same region the rich and famous civilization of the Scythians and the Sarmatians, two peoples mentioned in sources written since the fourth and fifth centuries BC.[157] Along with other Soviet archaeologists and historians, Rybakov regarded Scythians either as Slavs, or as ancestors of the Slavs. To complicate things even further, the same area of the Lower Dnieper was where archaeologists uncovered the traces of an archaeological civilization that they called Cherniakhov. The latter was distinguished by its rich ceramic and metallic material on which the influence of Roman civilization was obvious. During the years 1940–1950, that civilization was dated roughly from the second or third century to the fifth or sixth century. Until the early 1950s, most Soviet archaeologists, including Rybakov, attributed the Cherniakhov culture to Slavs. Rybakov viewed that as another irrefutable proof for his location of the Uliches.

In order to understand the ultimate logic of that theory, one must remember Rybakov's very close adherence to the Russian nationalist ideology. It was precisely that ideology that drove his approach, his desire to find the most distant roots, as well as the most famous ancestors possible for the Slavs in general, and for Russians in particular. His theory about the location of the Uliches is a perfect illustration of such goals.[158] Locating the Uliches in the Lower Dnieper region accomplished many things at the same time; it provided roots far distant in time, as well as very famous ancestors, and material proof of a flourishing Slavic civilization. For Rybakov, that location was the perfect place to achieve his goal.

Fedorov's Point of View

In his writings published in the early 1950s, Fedorov praised Rybakov's article. According to Fedorov, the location of the Uliches and Tivertsy proposed by his thesis' supervisor was based on an "exhaustive" and "very professional" study

157 Mikhail I. Artamonov, "Ėtnografiia Skifii," *Uchennye zapiski LGU* 85/13 (1949): 170.

158 No doubt, Rybakov knew of the existence of several variants of the chronicle text. At the beginning of the twentieth century, there were numerous studies of that chronicle, especially thanks to the prominent Russian philologist and historian Alekseĭ Shakhmatov. Danilevskiĭ, *Povest'*, 76–85; Andreĭ V. Poppe, "A.A. Shakhmatov i spornye nachala russkogo letopisaniia. Drevniaia Rus'," *Voprosy medievistiki* 3/33 (2008): 76–85. Rybakov knew about Shakhmatov, for he cited his works. However, he chose to rely on only one version of the chronicle.

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of the sources.[159] *Ipso facto*, the proposed location was "more than convincing." Following Rybakov, Fedorov supported without hesitation the idea that the Uliches mentioned in the chronicle first lived in the Dnieper region, then between the Bug and the Dniester, while the Tivertsy have always been inhabitants of the lands between the Dniester and the Prut![160] Moreover, Fedorov insisted that the material remains of the ninth to twelfth centuries in the territory between the Dniester and the Prut rivers were those of the Tivertsy, a Rus(sian) tribe.[161] Even if in his later works Fedorov avoided expressing praise for Rybakov, he did not distance himself from the interpretation advanced by his former professor.[162]

159 Fedorov, "Tivertsy," 252; Georgiĭ B. Fedorov, "Rabota slaviano-dnestrovskoĭ ėkspeditsii," *Kratkie soobshcheniia instituta istorii material'noĭ kul'tury* 44 (1952): 85; Fedorov, "Slaviane Podnestrov'ia (K itogam rabot slaviano- dnestrovskoĭ ėkspeditsii v 1951 godu)," 92; Fedorov, "Slaviane Podnestrov'ia," 128–129.

160 We have seen that Rybakov vaguely admitted that the Uliches penetrated the territory of Bessarabia by building another Peresechena. Sometimes Fedorov would also admit that possibility, but in most of his works he gave up this idea altogether, without however explaining it. Fedorov, "Tivertsy," 252; Fedorov, "Slaviane Podnestrov'ia," 129. Fedorov also expanded the territory of the Tivertsy to make them reach the Danube ("Tivertsy," 253; Fedorov, "Slaviane Podnestrov'ia," 123).

161 Fedorov, "Tivertsy," 252; Fedorov, "Rabota slaviano-dnestrovskoĭ," 85; Georgiĭ B. Fedorov, "Gorodishche Ekimeutsy (rabota Slaviano-dnestrovskoĭ ėkspeditsii v 1951 g.)," *Kratkie soobshcheniia instituta istorii material'noĭ kul'tury* 50 (1953): 104–126; Fedorov, "Itogi rabot v oblasti slavianskoĭ arkheologii," 6–8; G.B. Fedorov, "Slavianskie gorodishcha v Moldavii (K itogam rabot Moldavskoĭ *arkheologicheskoĭ* ėkspeditsii v 1952 godu)," *Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR* 4 (1953): 48; Fedorov, "Slaviane Podnestrov'ia," 121–154; Fedorov, "Itogi trekhletnikh rabot," 11. Sometimes, Fedorov nuanced this idea, specifying that from the third to the fifth centuries the territory of the future MSSR became a place where Slavic tribes, originating from northern and northeastern Europe were constantly settling. According to Fedorov, those tribes also contributed to the creation of the material culture of the region although to a smaller extent than the Tivertsy. Fedorov, "Tivertsy," 258; Fedorov, "Slaviane Podnestrov'ia," 137–138; Fedorov, "Gorodishche Ekimeutsy," 107; Georgiĭ B. Fedorov, "Drevnie slaviane v Moldavii (K itogam rabot Moldavskoĭ arkheologicheskoĭ ėkspeditsii v 1953–1954 godakh)," *Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR* 12 (1954): 41–42; Georgiĭ B. Fedorov, "Drevnie slaviane v Moldavii," *Izvestiia Moldavskogo filiala AN SSSR* 5/25 (1955): 81.

162 Georgiĭ B. Fedorov, "Po mestam drevnikh slavianskikh poselenii," *Slaviane. Ezhemesiachnyi zhurnal Slavianskogo komiteta SSSR*, 5 mai (1956): 24, 27–28; Fedorov, *Naselenie Prutsko-Dnestrovskogo mezhdurech'ia*, 41–44; Georgiĭ B. Fedorov, "Itogi i zadachi izucheniia drevneslavianskoĭ kul'tury Iugo-Zapada SSSR," *Kratkie soobshcheniia instituta arkheologii* 105 (1965): 25–26; Georgiĭ B. Fedorov, *Drevnie Slaviane v Prutsko-Dnestrovskom mezhdurech'e* (Moscow: Nauka, 1966), 8. Only once did Fedorov express doubts about the location proposed by Rybakov. In a study published in 1974, referring to the effort put in place by the Kievan prince for the submission of certain tribes, including the Uliches and the Tivertsy, he noted that at the time, the Uliches still inhabited the Dnieper region, while the Tivertsy were "probably" (!) on the Dniester. Moreover, Fedorov was convinced

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It could also be that Fedorov's position in relation to the interpretation of his former thesis supervisor was deliberately conformist; perhaps he did not want to go too far in confronting the all-powerful Rybakov. In the early 1950s, Rybakov was already an officially recognized authority: in 1949 he became the recipient of the prestigious "Stalin" prize, and in 1953 he received the title of member of the USSR Academy of Sciences.[163] Besides, he was apparently quite vindictive, as many archaeologists would learn from experience, including Fedorov.[164]

It is also possible that Fedorov, as well as several other archaeologists, was really convinced by the conclusions his former teacher had reached. Rybakov was described by several analysts as a very imaginative author and a person endowed with unparalleled eloquence.[165] His works employed a lively and captivating language, and ingeniously (albeit uncritically) juggled many sources. The article on the Uliches was not written in such a lively language, but certainly conveyed the idea of an erudite author who knew a multitude of sources and names of historical characters and peoples. Rybakov also left the impression of being acquainted with linguistics when associating such names as Urgi, Urugundi and Uliches. In addition, as some authors have noted, the Rybakov's popularity among archaeologists was also based on his use of archaeological data.[166] His study perfectly complied with one of the main tasks attributed to the archaeologists of the time, namely the identification of the roots of the Slavic and Russian civilization. Therefore, Rybakov's study could have been only favorably received by the archaeological community.

The popularity of Rybakov's study was also due to a retreat of the critical mind. The ideological shaping, purging, and the persecution suffered by researchers in the humanities, especially during the Stalinist era, all contributed

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that the homeland of the Tivertsy was the territory of the MSSR located between the Dniester and the Prut. This view then dominated the Moldavian Soviet historiography. Nikolaĭ A. Mokhov, *Formirovaniia moldavskogo naroda i obrazovanie Moldavskogo gosudarstva* (Kishinev: Kartia moldoveniaskė, 1959), 23; Nikolaĭ A. Mokhov, *Formirovaniia moldavskogo naroda i obrazovanie Moldavskogo gosudarstva* (Kishinev: Kartia moldoveniaskė, 1969), 41–43; Nikolaĭ A. Mokhov, *Ocherki istorii formirovaniia moldavskogo naroda* (Kishinev: Kartia moldoveniaskė, 1978), 47–48.

163 Chernetsov, "Krupnyi uchenyi," 540.

164 Nicolae Chetraru, interview by Iurie Stamati, 2010, audio; Fedorov, *Bruschatka*, 77; Klejn, *Trudno byt' Kleinom*, 324 and 332.

165 Klejn, "Akademik Rybakov," 14; Anataoliĭ P. Novosel'tsev, "«Mir istorii» ili mif istorii?," *Voprosy istorii* 1 (1993): 23–32.

166 Rabinovich, "Ulichi i Tivertsy," 465–466.

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to that state of affairs.[167] Although even a benign component of the expertise of historian or, in our case, an archaeologist, such as the mastery of sources, could be a criterion for the appreciation of researchers. Great emphasis was placed on docility, and alignment to the Party's political line. A historian who used sources that contradicted the official line could be accused of "false academism" or "bourgeois objectivism."[168] Ideological moldings, purges, and persecutions also engendered a feeling of fear that led to such phenomena as conformism and self-censorship.[169] Fear, for example, made one professor of history at the University of Leningrad tell his students: "we must learn to conform if we chose to become historians."[170] Of course, in exchange for their loyalty Soviet scholars were given certain privileges. In this respect, the testimony of Fedorov's friend, the poet Korzhavin, is very relevant.

In 1946, he attended the defense of Fedorov's candidate's thesis and noted the following:

> At the time, the title of candidate had not yet become a currency as is the case today. This scientific title was very important. It was a great accomplishment in the life [of a researcher]. After Hiroshima, Stalin greatly improved the financial situation of scientists; wages were greatly increased, and most importantly—given the rationing policy of the time—the allowance for consumption and food products. The quantity of these products that a researcher had the right to purchase was directly related to his scientific title. So having this title meant the change [improvement] of one's social and economic status.[171]

As another Soviet historian put it, "history is the profession that makes us live."[172] This attitude of the Stalinist state in relation to scientists was described by

167 Lenin's policy in relation to the Russian intelligentsia, whose symbol had become the famous "boat of philosophers," unexpected arrests, deportations, etc., must also be kept in mind. Tsarist Russia also had experience with the punishment of non-conformist intellectuals, including historians, whose memory was still present among the first Soviet historians beginning their careers before the "Great October." Sidorova, *Sovetskaia istoricheskaia nauka*, 22–24; Lesley Chamberlain, *Lenin's Private War: the Voyage of the Philosophy Steamer and the Exile of the Intelligentsia* (New York: Picador, 2008).

168 Sidorova, *Sovetskaia istoricheskaia nauka*, 43–45 and 104–124.

169 Sidorova, *Sovetskaia istoricheskaia nauka*, 28–32.

170 Cited according to Sidorova, *Sovetskaia istoricheskaia nauka*, 32.

171 Korzhavin, *V soblaznakh*, 666–667.

172 Cited according to Sidorova, *Sovetskaia istoricheskaia nauka*, 31.

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Aleksandr Formozov, one of the leading historians of Russian and Soviet archaeology, as the policy of "carrot and stick."[173]

As an archaeologist of the Stalinist era, Fedorov behaved like an exemplary conformist, even zealous as we will see from the analysis of his views regarding the date of appearance of the Slavic tribes on the territory of the MSSR. I am convinced that to Fedorov, as to many other Soviet researchers, conformism was a survival strategy. In his memoirs, Korzhavin provides other testimonies that can help one understanding Fedorov's attitude. For example, Fedorov's anti-Stalinism of the 1940s:

> At the time he knew more about Stalin than me, probably, he was already challenging it, I'm not sure. But I know that the spirit of Stalinism disgusted him more than anything else. It was precisely that which made him reproach me for my poetry. [...] his behavior in relation to Stalinism was as before something that had to be circumvented [...]. At the time many people were behaving according to the unwritten rule: "Let's lie to the Soviet power, in the name of the Soviet power!" [...] I do not know whether he was deliberately misleading the Soviet power, but he knew how to behave with its representatives. With his intelligence and his charm, he got what he wanted, not just for him, he helped many people, he saved many people from trouble.[174]

Through his archaeological works, Fedorov "rendered to Caesar what belonged to the Caesar." In exchange, he took advantage of the system. He did what many Soviet intellectuals did at the time. In that sense, Fedorov had some examples to follow, notably that of his former professor Artsikhovskiĭ.[175]

At the end of the Stalinist era, the feeling of fear became diluted, but conformity remained an important feature for Soviet historians and archaeologists.[176] Few historians and archaeologists dared to distance themselves from the line traced by official historiography, especially when dealing with sensitive topics. Those who did suffered the consequences. Fedorov's friend, the Muscovite

173 Aleksandr A. Formozov, *Russkie arkheologi v period totalitarizma. Istoriograficheskie ocherki* (Moscow: Znak, 2004), 245.

174 Korzhavin, *V soblaznakh*, 670–671.

175 In his memoirs, Fedorov also recounts the case of the archaeologist Aleksandr Smirnov, deputy director of the State Museum of History and the Moscow Institute of Archaeology. Fedorov, *Bruschatka*, 101–102 and 120–122.

176 Liubov' A. Sidorova, "Ottepel' v istoricheskoi nauke. Seredina 50-kh–seredina 60-kh gg," in *Isroricheskaia nauka Rosii v XX veke*, ed., Galina D. Alekseeva and al. (Moscow: Skriptorii, 1997), 244–268; Liubov' A. Sidorova, *Ottepel' v istoricheskoi nauke. Sovetskaia istoriografiia pervogo poslestalinskogo desiateletiia* (Moscow: Pamiatniki istoricheskoi mysli, 1997).

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historian Aleksandr Nekrich, inspired by the ideological context created after the Twentieth Party Congress, wrote a book on the beginning of the war between Hitler's Germany and the USSR. In his book, Nekrich suggested that the great culprit of the defeat suffered during the first months of the war by the USSR was none other than Stalin himself. Nekrich's book appeared in 1965, only a few months after Khrushchev's resignation, so in a still permissive ideological climate. Shortly after Brezhnev came to power, and the first signs of Stalin's rehabilitation appeared, his book was the target of fierce criticism.[177] After refusing to do *mea culpa*, Nekrich's rise in the academic hierarchy was blocked, he could neither publish, nor supervise doctorates, could not participate in international congresses or travel to foreign countries, and he was excluded from the Party. He also ran the risk of having his scientific title (Doctor of History) withdrawn and even of being fired. His book was removed from bookstores and libraries.[178] The same is true for the historian Aleksandr Zimin, who dared to doubt the authenticity of the poem *The Lay of Igor's Host*, which the Soviet official historiography treated as the symbol of Russian literary genius in the Middle Age.

At the beginning of the "Khrushchevian Thaw," Fedorov changed some of his old opinions. For example, some archaeological remains which he had previously declared as undoubtedly Slavic were now reinterpreted. However, as a whole, his opinions did not go beyond the boundaries of official historiography.

But how was it possible for an anti-Stalinist intellectual and sympathizer of the dissident movement to be so conformist as an archaeologist? Fedorov's his anti-Stalinism was expressed in private to relatives and friends, never in public. As for his sympathies for the dissident movement, he was indeed a great supporter, but never a central initiator or central participant in the activities of that movement. That is probably what some of his friends meant when they noted that "formally Fedorov was not considered a dissenter" or that he was the "personification of a silent but unmistakable resistance."[179] Probably Fedorov was a rather thoughtful and balanced person in his actions, especially because he had more than just social responsibilities. He was also a husband and the father of two children. A radical and public disobedience could have serious repercussions not only on him but also on his family.

On the other hand, Fedorov's opinions on the Slavic problem cannot be explained simply as facet of his conformism. In my opinion, he sincerely believed some of the arguments expressed in his publications. For example, it is

177 Nekrich, *Otreshis'*, 7 and 211–261.
178 Nekrich, *Otreshis'*, 7 and 211–393.
179 Rapoport, *To li byl'*, 153–154; Korzhavin, *V soblaznakh*, 668.

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possible that at the beginning of the 1950s Fedorov was convinced that he was not far from the truth when describing the Slavic population on the territory of the MSSR as indigenous. In the post-war ideological climate, when academic publications insisted upon the antiquity of the Slavic civilization, when older and more experienced archaeologists and historians sought and found traces of Slavs deep into prehistory, it was difficult for a young archaeologist to believe and proceed otherwise. The retreat of the critical mind also influenced Fedorov's professional activity. The tendency to lower one's critical mind before famous peers was not limited to the case of Rybakov. As shown earlier, even if Fedorov was far from being an advocate of Russian nationalism, his literary activity bore its imprint. The Russian nationalist discourse resurrected in the period when Fedorov was formed as an archaeologist and certainly influenced his scholarly ideas. The retrospective method which was in vogue at the time, certain archaeological "contexts" he faced, as well as certain written sources, all contributed to the configuration of his interpretations. To say that Fedorov's opinions are the result of a single aim, namely to justify the presence of the MSSR between the Soviet borders, would be very far from the realities with which the intellectual and archaeologist Fedorov had to deal with.

5.2 *When did the Slavs First Appear on the Territory of the MSSR?* The Historiographical Context

Two authors writing in the sixth century, Jordanes and Procopius of Caesarea, were the first to mention the Slavs under the slightly different name of Sclavenes. Jordanes made the Dniester was the border between two Slavic tribes. According to Procopius, in 545 Emperor Justinian gave to one of them an ancient Roman town supposedly located somewhere in southern Bessarabia.[180] Both testimonies were known to Russian authors of the Tsarist period who had studied the history of Bessarabia.[181] The ideological climate of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was strongly influenced by the pan-Slavic and Russian nationalist ideals, and it made historians look for dates older than the sixth century for the settlement of those peoples in Bessarabia. The impetus

180 Aleksandr N. Anfert'ev, "Iordan," in *Svod drevneishikh pis'mennykh izvestiĭ o slavianakh*. T. 1, ed., Leonid A. Gindin and Genadiĭ G. Litavrin (Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura, 1994), 106–109; Sergeĭ A. Ivanov and al., "Prokopiĭ Kesarskiĭ," in *Svod drevneishikh pis'mennykh izvestiĭ o slavianakh*. T. 1, ed., Leonid A. Gindin and Genadiĭ G. Litavrin (Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura, 1994), 185–186 and 228–229.

181 Vel'tman, *Nachertanie*, 33; Zashchuk, *Bessarabskaia oblast'*, 4; Batiushkov, ed., *Bessarabiia*, 3 and 15–16; Nikolaĭ V. Lashkov, *Bessarabiia: k' stol'tiiu prisoedineniia k' Rossii* (Kishinev: Tipografiia Bessarabskago Gubernskago Pravleniia, 1912), 43.

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came from the Romanian side as well, since during the last decades of the nineteenth century, Romanian nationalism began to claim historical rights over that province. The dates proposed were generally between the fourth century BC and the seventh century AD. According to some, the Slavs came from Asia, according to others, from the Baltic Sea region. Before the sixth century, they were called by different names—Scythians, Sarmatians, Getae, or Dacians. The idea that in Bessarabia the Slavs constituted an indigenous population was also present.[182]

In 1940, when the Soviet ultimatum addressed to the Romanian government claimed that the population of Bessarabia was made up of Ukrainians, the Soviet Slavist Nikolaĭ Derzhavin, an ardent Marrist and promoter of the official propaganda, suggested that in that region, the history of the Slavs could be traced back at least to the Neolithic period, if not earlier.[183] Thus, the necessity of occupying Bessarabia, and then the occupation itself, were justified not only through made-up demographics, but through a historical construction as well.

The authors of the first synthesis of history of the MSSR,[184] freed from any obligation to pay lip service to the Marrist theory,[185] noted that the Slavs arrived in the region in the third and fourth centuries.[186] They supposedly came from the middle course of the Dnieper and the Bug rivers. The dating was based on the discovery in the MSSR of archaeological remains of the Cherniakhov culture first identified by the "bourgeois" archaeologist Vikentiĭ Khvoika. In the last years of the nineteenth century, Khvoika discovered three cemeteries in the Kiev region, near the villages of Zarubintsy, Romashki and Cherniakhov. The one in Zarubintsy was dated between the second century BC and the second century AD, while the other two were from the second to the fifth century AD. According to Khvoika, all these sites belonged to a single archaeological civilization, which he called the Pit Grave Culture and attributed to the

182 Vel'tman, *Nachertanie*, 12; Nakko, *Istoriia Bessarabii*, 12–241; Lashkov, *Bessarabiia: k' stol'tiiu*, 42; Zashchuk, *Bessarabskaia oblast'*, 2; Batiushkov, ed., *Bessarabiia*, 11–13; Stamati, "Les Slaves," 786–793.

183 Derzhavin, "Proiskhozhdenie," 18–19; Stamati, "Entre l'internationalisme," 370.

184 Between 1951 and 1988, several syntheses of the history of the MSSR were published. They reflected the official point of view on the republic's history, agreed to by the Party. Such summaries were published in all Soviet republics.

185 As we have seen, the Stalinist criticism of Marr and his linguistic theory was made in 1950, before the appearance of this synthesis.

186 Udal'tsov and Cherepnin, ed., *Istoriia Moldavii*, 35. Of course, this change in the appearance of the Slavs on the territory of the MSSR was also due to post-war geopolitical change; Bessarabia was already part of the USSR, Romania became pro-Soviet and no longer voiced any territorial claims towards its great neighbor to the east.

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Slavic tribes. According to him, that was the direct predecessor of the Rus(sian) medieval civilization.[187]

In the following decades, similar remains were discovered in Central and Eastern Europe. Cemeteries like that in Zarubintsy were identified on the middle and upper reaches of the Dnieper, in the valleys of the Pripet, Desna and Bug rivers. Remains similar to those in Romashki and Cherniakhov were discovered between the Dnieper and the lower Danube. During the first half of the 1950s, Soviet archaeologists still considered all those remains to be a single archaeological civilization, but they gradually changed their views. Zarubintsy-like assemblages were now gathered under the name of the Zarubintsy civilization, and those of the type discovered in Romashki and Cherniakhov, under the name Cherniakhov civilization.[188] As for their ethnic interpretation, until the mid-1950s, almost all Soviet archaeologists subscribed to Khovika's idea and regarded them all as traces left by the Slavs.

However, the zeal with which Soviet archaeologists defended the Slavic character of the Zarubintsy civilization never exceeded the intensity with which they argued that the Slavs were behind the Cherniakhov civilization. This was partially because of an equal zeal with which the German archaeologists had contested the Slavicity of that civilization and claimed it to be Germanic. According to Soviet archaeologists, the point of view expressed by German archaeologists was simply bourgeois-nationalist and fascist.[189] Labeling opposing views in such a manner did not, however, make the idea of a Slavic Cherniakhov civilization more credible. First, there was the conspicuous problem of a chronological gap of about 400 years between the Cherniakhov civilization and the sites attributed to medieval Russians that were dated to the ninth century. Then, most written sources pertaining to the region and the time in which that civilization developed mentioned the Germanic tribes of the Goths, and not the Slavs.[190] Finally, the pottery of the Cherniakhov civilization was different and visibly more diversified than the one originating from ninth- to thirteenth-century sites attributed to the ancient Rus'. The Cherniakhov pottery was either handmade or thrown on a wheel, richly decorated, and came in a variety of shapes—pots, pitchers, cups, bowls, cauldrons, as well as large storage vessels. By contrast, according to Soviet archaeologists, the pottery of the

187 Vikentiĭ V. Khvoika, "Polia pogrebenii v Srednem Podneprov'e," *Zapiski russkogo arkheologicheskogo obshchestva* 12/1–2 (1901): 182–190.

188 Rusanova and Symonovich, ed., *Slaviane*, 20–24 and 123–130.

189 Mikhail Iu. Braichevskiĭ, "Osnovnye voprosy arkheologicheskogo izucheniia antov (kul'tura polei pogrebenii)," in *Doklady VI nauchkonferentsii Instituta Arkheologii*, ed., Pëtr P. Efimenko and al. (Kiev: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk Ukrainskoi SSSR, 1953), 61.

190 Mark Shchukin, "Vremia « Che »—Rubezh tysiacheletiĭ," *Stratum plus* 4 (1999): 5–7.

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Rus' had only cooking pots thrown on the tournette (slow-turning wheel) and decorated with combed ornament in straight, horizontal, or wavy lines.[191] However, the logic of the retrospective method that guided those archaeologists assumed the existence of certain commonalities between the artefacts of the two civilizations. Thus, the pottery of the Cherniakhov type had to be the prototype of Rus(sian) pottery. In other words, Rus(sian) ceramics could not have any other origin but the Cherniakhov ceramics.

The fiercest advocates of the idea that Cherniakhov was Slavic tried to bridge the chronological gap by stretching the chronology of the Cherniakhov culture as late as the seventh century, and by looking for "transitional" sites dated in the seventh and eighth century, which could link Cherniakhov to the medieval Rus.[192] Some tried the opposite, namely to push the chronology of medieval Rus' sites back in time, to reach the seventh or even the sixth century.[193] Nor did the lack of genetic links between the two civilizations, especially their ceramic assemblages, deter archaeologists from arguing that the Cherniakhov ceramics was a prototype of Russian ceramics, given that pots appear on both Cherniakhov and Rus(sian) sites. The presence of combed ornamentation on some Cherniakhov pots was also viewed as sufficient proof of genetic links. The absence of several Cherniakhov ceramic forms from medieval Rus(sian) sites was explained away as changes in the Russian diet or use of wooden vessels, which of course had not been preserved.[194]

Obviously, one needed to have a blind belief in the infallibility of the retrospective method and in the ideological climate of the last years of the Stalinist era, in order to subscribe to such theories. But there were also skeptics. According to Leningrad-based archaeologist Ivan Liapushkin, the identification of several common elements for the two civilizations could not make the theory more credible. His skepticism was mainly related to the question of chronology, which is why he was not convinced by the proposed explanation.[195]

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191 Rybakov, *Remeslo drevneĭ Rusi*, 163–174; Rzhiga, *Ocherki iz istorii byta*, 37–40. In Soviet archaeology, Rus' ethnicity came to be recognized by pottery only gradually, and not always systematically, after the late 1920s. Rzhiga, *Ocherki iz istorii byta*, 37–40. This was at least partially because of the Czech archaeologist Lubor Niederle. In his book *The Slavic Antiquities*, Niederle first used that pottery for ethnic attribution, but to all Slavs, and not just to the Rus' s. Lubor Niederle, *Slovanské starozhitnosti*. T. 3 (Praga: Nákladem bursíka&konouta, 1921), 302–306.

192 Braichevskiĭ, "Osnovnye voprosy," 78; Rusanova and Symonovich, ed., *Slaviane*, 124.

193 Liapushkin, "Materialy k izucheniiu," 118.

194 Braichevskiĭ, "Osnovnye voprosy," 75–76.

195 Liapushkin, "Materialy k izucheniiu," 117–118; Ivan I. Liapushkin, "Pamiatniki kul'tury « polei pogrebenii » pervoi poloviny I tysiacheletiia n.e. Dneprovskogo lesostepnogo

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In the late 1940s and in the first half of the 1950s, among other archaeological remains used to explain the ancient history of the Russians and the Slavs in general, there was also the Lipitsk Civilization. Such remains have first been discovered in 1889, near the village by that name in the Ivano-Frankovsk region of present-day Ukraine, but their systematic research began only in the 1930s. They were dated between the second or the first century BC and the second or third century AD. Most Lipitsk sites cluster between the Upper Dniester, the Lower Danube River, and the Upper Tisza rivers.

In the 1930s, the main researcher of that civilization, the Ukrainian-born, Polish archaeologist Markiian Smishko, believed that the Lipitsk civilization is to be attributed to Getae and Dacians.[196] But in the late 1940s and early 1950s, the same scholar, who now lived in the Soviet Union, a country that had recently occupied the territories where Lipitsk sites had been found, concluded that the Slavs were also among the creators of these vestiges. According to Smishko, the Lipitsk civilization was a variant, along with the Zarubintsy and Cherniakhov types, of the Pit Grave Culture.[197]

Fedorov's Point of View

In the early years of his research in the MSSR, Fedorov asserted without any reservation that the Cherniakhov-type remains were traces of the Slavs. Fedorov also reported the presence of Lipitsk-type remains.[198] In the early 1950s, his views on the matter were even more pan-Slavic than Smishko's. Without any reservation, Fedorov attributed them all to the Slavs. The basis for that was pottery, remains of which had been collected in the course of field surveys or accidentally found, and were thus out of context. That was in fact the reason for which doubts were later raised about the existence of Lipitsk sites in the MSSR.[199] In the early 1950s, Fedorov strongly believed that Lipitsk-type of remains in the MSSR pointed, together with Cherniakhov-type of remains, to the same Slavic civilization of the Pit Grave Culture, the predecessor of the civilization of "ancient Rus." At that time, Fedorov maintained that Slavs were

levoberezh'ia (Po materialam polevykh izyskanii 1940, 1945–1948 gg.)," *Sovetskaia arkheologiia* 13 (1950): 7–32.

196 Rusanova and Symonovich, ed., *Slaviane*, 96.

197 Markiian Iu. Smishko, "Ranneslavianskaia kul'tura Podnestrov'ia v svete novykh arkheologicheskikh dannykh," *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta istorii material'noĭ kul'tury* 44 (1952), 67–82.

198 In the mid-1960s, Fedorov saw certain ceramic forms of the Cherniakhov civilization as "Zarubintsy elements," but he never mentioned any Zarubintsy-like sites in the the MSSR. Fedorov, "Itogi i zadachi izucheniia drevneslavianskoĭ kul'tury," 23.

199 Rusanova and Symonovich, ed., *Slaviane*, 96–97.

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native to the territory of the MSSR, and that their presence there dated back to the "last centuries" before our era.[200] He even pointed accusatory fingers at the authors of the first synthesis of history of the MSSR for having claimed that the Slavs were not native to the region.[201] According to Fedorov, the MSSR was part of the Slavic homeland, an idea which he underlined by means a sentence that seemed to be a direct quote from the propaganda of that time: "for more than a millennium, the land between the Dniester and the Prut was cultivated by the Slavic plow and protected by the Slavic sword."[202]

Since the beginning of the "Khrushchev Thaw," the ethnic attribution of archaeological civilizations previously seen as undoubtedly Slavic was partially or completely revised. The Slavic interpretation of the Lipitsk civilization was forever abandoned.[203] The Cherniakhov civilization remained the only one that, as before, attracted the attention of archaeologists. Scholarly debates regarding its ethnic attribution took on very emotional overtones, and sometimes even ended in insults, and even physical confrontations. Three positions began to take shape in those debates: the Cherniakhov culture is essentially Germanic; the Cherniakhov culture is essentially Slavic; and the Cherniakhov culture is the material reflection of ethnic syncretism.[204]

The first change in Fedorov's position appeared in an article from 1954 in which he suggested that in some parts of the MSSR, Slavs were not natives. That status was now accorded to Getae, Dacians, and Sarmatians.[205] By the early 1960s, Fedorov had made a complete turn when arguing that the Slavs had come to the territory of the MSSR from elsewhere. The Lipitsk civilization was now attributed to Getae, Dacians, and Sarmatians.[206]

However, Fedorov believed that the Slavic tribes had arrived on the territory of the MSSR during the last centuries BC, a dating that he abandoned by the mid-1960s.[207] Henceforth, he argued that a few Slavs came in the second or

200 Fedorov, "Tivertsy," 250–252; Fedorov, "Rabota slaviano-dnestrovskoĭ," 83–85; Fedorov, "Itogi rabot v oblasti slavianskoĭ arkheologii," 6–7.

201 Fedorov, "Itogi trekhletnikh rabot," 12.

202 Fedorov, "Itogi rabot v oblasti slavianskoĭ arkheologii," 7.

203 Rusanova and Symonovich, ed., *Slaviane*, 103–104. The Zarubintsy civilization continued to be seen by some archaeologists, including Fedorov, as Slavic, but in confrontations with their opponents they had to constantly nuance their position. Rusanova and Symonovich, ed., *Slaviane*, 21–24 and 36–39; Fedorov, "Itogi i zadachi izucheniia drevneslavianskoĭ kul'tury," 23; Fedorov, *Drevnie Slaviane v Prutsko-Dnestrovskom*, 1.

204 Shchukin, "Vremia « Che »," 5; Rusanova and Symonovich, ed., *Slaviane*, 124–130.

205 Fedorov, "Drevnie slaviane v Moldavii," 37–40.

206 Fedorov, *Naselenie Prutsko-Dnestrovskogo mezhdurech'ia*, 20–22.

207 Fedorov, *Naselenie Prutsko-Dnestrovskogo mezhdurech'ia*, 13–14 and 55–56.

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third century AD, but the bulk of the Slavic migrants arrived on the territory of the MSSR in the late fifth and early the sixth century.[208]

This last point of view was based on two arguments. First, Fedorov continued to see in the Cherniakhov civilization certain Slavic elements,[209] if only "very few," such as certain ceramic forms decorated with horizontal and wavy lines. That is why he believed that a few Slavs must have been present in, or simply passed through the territory of the MSSR during the whole period between the second and the fifth century.[210]

Second, Fedorov had at his disposal a written source that he thought irrefutable.[211] This was the Peutinger Map, which survives in a twelfth- or thirteenth-century copy based on another, much older map dated between the third and fifth centuries AD, itself based on even older sources, some of which went back to the first century AD.[212] The Peutinger Map mentions the Venethi next to the Danube. Many Soviet archaeologists, including Fedorov, were convinced that the Venethi were Slavs.[213] According to Fedorov, since the map also mentions the Venethi farther to the north, they must have migrated to the lands by the Danube from northern Europe.[214] Certain "Slavic" elements of the Cherniakhov civilization identified in the MSSR thus confirmed, to Fedorov,

208 Fedorov, "Itogi i zadachi izucheniia drevneslavianskoĭ kul'tury," 22–24; Fedorov, *Drevnie Slaviane v Prutsko-Dnestrovskom*, 1–3; Georgiĭ B. Fedorov and Mira Ia. Salmanovich, "Ėtnokul'turnye kompleksy po dannym material'noĭ kul'tury (Issledovaniia v Prutsko-Dnestrovskom mezhdurech'e)," *Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR* 8 (1970): 56.

209 Fedorov was one of those who supported the theory of ethnic syncretism of the Cherniakhov civilization. According to him, this civilization carried the ethnic traces left by the Getae, the Sarmatians, the Goths, and the Slavs. Georgiĭ B. Fedorov and Mira Ia. Salmanovich, *Ėtnicheskaia i kul'turnaia istoriia naseleniia Iugo-Zapada SSSR ot nachala zheleznogo veka do XIX stoletiia* (Moscow: Nauka, 1964), 2; Fedorov, *Drevnie Slaviane v Prutsko-Dnestrovskom*, 1–3.

210 Fedorov, "Itogi i zadachi izucheniia drevneslavianskoĭ kul'tury," 22–24; Fedorov, *Drevnie Slaviane v Prutsko-Dnestrovskom*, 1–3.

211 Fedorov, *Naselenie Prutsko-Dnestrovskogo mezhdurech'ia*, 65; Fedorov, "Itogi i zadachi izucheniia drevneslavianskoĭ kul'tury," 22–23; Fedorov, *Drevnie Slaviane v Prutsko-Dnestrovskom*, 1.

212 Aleksandr V. Podosinov, *Vostochnaia Evropa v Rimskoi kartograficheskoi traditsii* (Moscow: Indrik, 2002), 287–296.

213 According to some authors, the Venethi had come from the region of the Upper Tisza, Upper Prut and Upper Dniester rivers. According to others, their homeland was farther to north, along the Upper Vistula basin. Podosinov, *Vostochnaia Evropa*, 321–322; Florin Curta, "Hiding Behind a Piece of Tapestry: Jordanes and the Slavic Venethi," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 47 (1999): 332–335.

214 In his monograph from 1960, Fedorov wrongly argued that there were three, not two mentions of Venethi on the Peutinger Map. Fedorov, *Naselenie Prutsko-Dnestrovskogo mezhdurech'ia*, 65.

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that the Slavic Venethi had migrated to the south through the territory of the MSSR.

That Fedorov so stubbornly stuck to the idea of Slavic ethnic elements in the inside the Cherniakhov civilization was a direct result of the way in which ethnicity had come to dominate theoretically all archaeological concerns in the MSSR. That he believed Venethi to be Slavs and the Peutinger Map to be an illustration of their migration from north to south, is also no surprise. This was, after all, the theory of Lubor Niederle, a Czech historian and archaeologist (1865–1944), whose theories were highly regarded by Slavists from different countries, including those of the USSR.[215] His book, *The Slavic Antiquities*, first published in two volumes in the 1920s, was translated and published in the USSR in 1956.[216] Fedorov cited Niederle when discussing the Peutinger Map and the Slavic Venethi.[217] It was in fact Niederle's work that inspired Fedorov to treat the double mention of the Venethi on the Peutinger Map as an indication of their migration to the south.[218]

As for Niederle, his treatment of the Venethi as Slavs was based on of Jordanes. In the *History of the Goths*, written in the sixth century, Jordanes has identified the Venethi, who were mentioned by ancient authors since the first century of our era, with the sixth-century Sclavenes. Having the testimony of an almost "eyewitness" was a strong argument.[219] Moreover, Niederle pointed out that in the German language, the word "Wenden" (or "Winden"), supposedly

215 Valentin V. Sedov, *Proiskhozhdenie i ranniaia istoriia slavian* (Moscow: Nauka, 1979), 10; Arsen T. Siniuk, "L. Niderle," *Voprosy istorii slavian* 2 (1966): 23–32.

216 The version published in the 1920s was a French version of even earlier and larger book. It was published under the title *Manual of Slavic Antiquity*. The Soviet version was a translation of a Czech version of that Manual, published in 1953. Pëtr N. Tret'iakov, "Liubor Niderle i ego «Slavianskie drevnosti»," in *Slavianskie drevnosti* by Lubor Niederle, ed., Aleksandr L. Mongajt (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo inostrannoi literatury, 1956), 6–7.

217 Fedorov, *Naselenie Prutsko-Dnestrovskogo mezhdurech'ia*, 65.

218 Lubor Niederle, *Slavianskie drevnosti*, ed., Aleksandr L. Mongajt (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo inostrannoi literatury, 1956), 54.

219 Niederle was not the first or the last author who had complete confidence in the writings of Jordanes. In the nineteenth century, the idea that the Venethi were Slavs had already certain popularity especially thanks to another famous Slavist, Pavel Jozef Šafárik (1795–1861). Šafárik was of Slovak origin, and best known for his works, *Slavic Antiquities* (1837) and *Slavonic Ethnography* (1842), both of which were foundational stones for Slavic archaeology and ethnography. Šafárik wrote his works with the sole purpose of demonstrating, especially to the Germans, that the Slavic civilization was no less ancient or remarkable than that of any other nation. Lev N. Smirnov, "Slovo o Shafarike," in *Pavel Iozef Shafarik* (*k 200-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia*), ed., Lev N. Smirnov (Moskow: Institut slavianovedeniia i balkanistiki RAN 1995), 3–18; Marina Iu. Dostal', "P.I. Shafarik i russkie slavianofily," in *Pavel Iozef Shafarik* (*k 200-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia*), ed., Lev N. Smirnov (Moskow: Institut Slavianovedeniia i Balkanistiki RAN, 1995), 73; Aleksandr S. Myl'nikov,

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derived from Venethi, was until "present times" used in reference to the Slavs.[220] The identification of the Venethi of antiquity with the Slavs of the sixth century could not be badly received by Soviet archaeologists and historians, including Fedorov, who, armed with the retrospective method, sought the origin of the Slavs from the beginning of times. Through the pen of Jordanes, the Slavs thus received a history older than the sixth century.

It was only towards the end of the Soviet era that the credibility of the "eyewitness" Jordanes began to be questioned.[221] Some comparative analyses carried out on the work of Jordanes and that of his contemporary Procopius suggested that the identification of the Slavs with the Venethi constituted a narrative strategy employed by Jordanes in his controversy with Procopius.[222] Concerning the subsequent use of the word Venethi in the German language as a common name for the Slavs, it is not excluded that that tradition originated in a bookish phenomenon based on a tradition that was built around the same testimony of Jordanes.

Pending the publication of studies that will hopefully elucidate that problem, the fact that the Venethi are indicated twice on the Peutinger Map cannot be interpreted as an indication of a migration path. Serious studies on the Peutinger Map appeared only towards the end of the Soviet era, when it became clear that the map was a compilation of different sources, and that the compiler(s) had difficulty in correlating various place names, rivers, and peoples mentioned in those sources. It is probably for that reason that in many cases, the same place name or the same people appears more than one time on the map. This may well be the case of the double presence of the Venethi.[223]

Pavel Shafarik vydaiushchiisia uchenyi-slavist (Moscow-Leningrad: Izd-vo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1963); Curta, "Hiding Behind," 321–340; Curta, *Apariția slavilor*, 5–6.

220 Niederle, *Slavianskie drevnosti*, 39. To this day, the word is used in German to refer to the Lusatian Sorbs, a Slavophone group living in northeastern Germany. Rado L. Lencek, "Note: The Terms Wande-Winde, Wandisch-Windisch in the Historiographic tradition of the Slovene lands," *Slovene Studies* 12/1 (1990): 93–97; Roland Marti, "Haut- et bas-sorabe: une cohabitation linguistique difficile," *Revue des études slaves* 85/2 (2014): 228–229.

221 Sergeĭ A. Ivanov, "Otkuda nachinat' ėtnicheskuiu istoriiu slavian? (Po povodu novogo truda pol'skikh issledovatelei)," *Sovetskoe slavianovedenie* 5 (1991): 9–10; Sergeĭ A. Ivanov, "« V teni Iustinianovykh krepostei »? F. Kurta i paradoksy ranneslavianskoĭ etnichnosti," *Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana* 2/4 (2008): 5–6.

222 Curta, "Hiding Behind," 321–340; Curta, *Apariția slavilor*, 31–37.

223 Aleksandr V. Podosinov, "Pevtingerova karta," in *Svod drevneĭshikh pis'mennykh izvestiĭ o slavianakh. K XVIII Mezhdunorodnomu kongressu vizantinistov*. T. 1, ed., Leonid A. Gindin and Sergeĭ A. Ivanov (Moscow: Nauka. Glavnaia redaktsiia vostochnoi literatury, 1991), 63–64 and 73–75; Podosinov, *Vostochnaia Evropa*, 289–290 and 327–328.

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5.3 *What is the Material Culture of the Tivertsy?* The Historiographical Context

According to Russian Primary Chronicle, Varangians (Vikings) were the principal builders of the Rus(sian) state. The same source also pointed out that certain Slavic tribes in the east lived in dirt and ignorance "like animals in the woods." By that, the Christian chronicler wanted to discredit the pagan beliefs that at the time were still alive in some of the region's communities.[224] In the eighteenth century, German men of letters established in Russia in the context of the pro-Western reforms initiated by Peter the Great, used the text of the Russian Primary Chronicle to claim that Russians were a backward people that had not even been capable of building their own state. That assertion was questioned by some Russian scholars, including the famous Mikhail Lomonosov, one of the most important predecessors of Russian nationalism.[225] The controversy (hence known as "Normanist controversy" because the Varangians passed for "Normans") continued well beyond the eighteenth century. In the early 1870s, Count Alekseĭ Uvarov, one of the founders and head of the highly influential Imperial Society of Archaeology in Moscow, advanced the idea of verifying the Russian Primary Chronicle by means of archaeology.[226] The primary source for that were burial mounds, which, ever since the excavation of Chernaia Mogila near Chernigov, had captivated the interest of archaeologists, primarily of the University of Warsaw professor Dmitriĭ Samokvasov.[227] Chernaia Mogila produced an impressive array of artefacts, some of them of precious metals, which allowed the excavator, as well as other Russian historians, to show how civilized their ancestors were, and how much the Christian author of the Russian Primary Chronicle got carried away by his desire to condemn their paganism.[228]

Excavations of burial mounds continued in several parts of Russia, paving the way for Aleksandr Spitsyn's path-breaking study on the location of ancient tribes according to the archaeological sources, which was published in 1899.[229] Certain statements in that study were visibly determined by the Normanist debate. But Spitsyn's main goal was not to provide further arguments against

224 Danilevskiĭ, *Povest'*, 147–149.

225 Mikhail I. Alpatov, *Russkaia istoricheskaia mysl' i Zapadnaia Evropa, XVIII–pervaia polovina XIX v.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1985), 9–81.

226 Lebedev, *Istoriia otechestvennoĭ arkheologii*, 94–113.

227 Shchavelёv, *Istorik russkoi zemli*, 44–45.

228 Dmitriĭ Ia. Samokvasov, *Proiskhozhdenie russkago naroda* (Moscow: Sinodal'naia Tipografiia, 1908), 14; Dmitriĭ I. Bagalei, *Russkaia istoriia*. T. 1 (Moscow: Tipografija T-va I.D. Sytina, 1914), 143–146; Shchavelёv, *Istorik russkoi zemli*, 41–46 and 67–68.

229 Spitsyn, "Razselenie," 301–340.

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the claims of the Russian Primary Chronicle, but to clarify the geography of the other Slavonic tribes listed in that chronicle. At the end of the nineteenth century, the location of the Uliches and the Tivertsy was not the only problem.[230]

Spitsyn's method was to map the distribution of temporal rings (i.e., rings attached to hair locks or textile bands hanging on both sides of the head, by the temples), a particular type of female dress accessory found in burial mounds. Spitsyn never explained those particular artefacts would indicate the ethnicity of those who wore them. His study, however, suggested that the different distributions of various types of temporal rings were an indication of various Slavic tribes mentioned in the Russian Primary Chronicle.[231] In other words, Spitsyn suggested that each "Russian tribe" (or rather the women of each "Russian tribe") preferred a certain type of temporal ring.[232]

In the first half of the 1930s, when Soviet propaganda was still anti-nationalist, Spitsyn's study was criticized for having attributed material culture remains of other ethnic groups to the Russians, thus contributing to the Russian nationalist agenda.[233] In the second half of the 1930s, Spitsyn's study was again called into question. He was now accused of the fact that the territories attributed to the "Russian tribes" looked similar, at least in terms of size, to certain European states size. Such a large territory could not have possibly be controlled by a single tribe. The distribution of the various types of temporal rings was therefore an indication of the feudal territorial entities and of the fact that ethnically heterogeneous populations tended to cluster around distinct economic centers.[234]

That interpretation was immediately condemned by Fedorov's teacher, Artsikhovskiĭ, who, along with Fedorov's future supervisor, Rybakov, was the most faithful continuator of Spitsyn's work, even in the period when the Soviet historiography dissociated itself from the nationalist discourse, and when interest in the medieval Russian history decreased.[235] In the context of the revival of the nationalist discourse and the renewed interest in ethnic issues,

230 Sedov, *Vostochnye slaviane*, 90–234.

231 Spitsyn, "Razselenie," 321–339.

232 It should be noted that the Russian Primary Chronicle mentioned "Slavic," not "Russian" tribes. It is only Russian national historians that coaxed those tribes into the history of the Russian nation, and thus russified them. This is how Spitsyn proceeded in his article. Prior to Spitsyn, the famous historian Nikolaĭ Karamzin proceeded in a similar fashion in his *History of the Russian State*, a study that was published at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Spitsyn, "Razselenie," 301; Stamati, "Les Slaves," 784.

233 Khudiakov, *Dorevoliutsionnaia*, 99–100.

234 Tret'iakov "Rasselenie" 48–49.

235 Artsikhovskiĭ, *Kurgany viatichei*; Artsikhovskiĭ, "V zashchitu letopisei," 53–61; Boris A. Rybakov, "Radzimichi," *Pratsy sektsyi arkheolëgii* 3 (1932): 81–151.

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Artsikhovskiĭ's counter-offensive was victorious and Spitsyn's view remained in vogue.[236]

It is also important to note that in his 1899 study Spitsyn noticed that the pottery thrown on a tournette and decorated with straight or wavy lines was commonly found in the burial mounds that he analyzed. However, he did not perceive it as an ethnic indicator of Russians. Moreover, even if Spitsyn admitted the idea that each people had its own material culture, in this study he asserted that from the tenth to the twelfth centuries the Russians had not yet reached that stage. All the objects they carried were of non-ethnic nature. In his own words, these objects "might as well have belonged to a Russian or to a Varangian."[237]

After the Second World War, such hesitations were no longer accepted. The "Russian tribes" or the "ancient Rus" of the Primary Chronicle were perceived as a well-defined ethnic group with its own material culture. As previously mentioned, the pot decorated with straight or wavy lines became an ethnic indicator.[238] Soviet archaeologists continued to perceive certain material elements as particular to each tribe mentioned in the chronicle, but they insisted more on their cultural unity. The principle according to which each ethnic group possessed a set of objects of its own by which it was different from others became an axiom accepted by almost all Soviet archaeologists. It is precisely that principle that was used in the first synthesis of history of the MSSR. Its authors noted that the material culture discovered on the territory of the MSSR, despite some regional peculiarities, had "a strikingly Russian appearance." The jewelry manufactured by Tivertsy craftsmen in the towns of the region was hardly distinguishable from the jewelry made by craftsmen in Smolensk, in the land of the Krivichi [another tribe regarded as Russian]."[239]

Fedorov's Point of View

The opinion found in the works of Fedorov and on which he would adamantly insist was presented in the first synthesis of history of the MSSR. According to Fedorov, from the ninth to the twelfth century, the archaeological civilization on the territory of the MSSR had a "very Russian aspect." Moreover, he often

236 Liapushkin, *Slaviane vostochnoi Evropy*, 120–124; Sedov, *Vostochnye slaviane*, 90–234; Shinakov, "A.A. Spitsyn i vopros," 212–220.

237 Spitsyn, "Razselenie," 315 and 321.

238 In Soviet archaeology, it was Artemiĭ Artsikhovskiĭ who questioned the Slavic attribution of that pottery. Artemiĭ V. Artsikhovskiĭ, "Kul'turnoe edinstvo slavian v srednie veka," *Sovetskaia ėtnografiia* 1 (1946): 86. But his opinion was an exception, and his former student Fedorov did not adopt his views in that respect.

239 Udal'tsov and Cherepnin, ed., *Istoriia Moldavii*, 50.

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used "Russians," or "ancient Rus" as a synonym for Tivertsy when speaking or writing about the founders of that civilization.[240]

Apparently, several artefacts identified on the territory of the MSSR had analogies on archaeological sites from Ukraine and Western Russia, two regions regarded as the cradle of Russian medieval civilization. That is why a certain "cultural unity" was immediately noted on the Moldovan sites attributed to the Tivertsy. But the material culture of the MSSR also had several peculiar elements, some of which were apparently quite important. This was the case of nineteen sites, most of them with an ovoid shape (varying in size between 50 × 180 and 60 × 200 m), which Fedorov interpreted as the strongholds or cities of the Tivertsy.[241] According to him, some elements of their defensive systems were more elaborate than those of strongholds of other Russian medieval regions.[242] Fedorov even went as far as to admit that those strongholds of the Tivertsy resembled strongholds found in Poland.[243] By the same token, those sites were his strongest argument for the presence of "Russians," because he regarded the Tivertsy as "Russians" on the territory of the MSSR. Since, according to the Russian Primary Chronicle, the Tivertsy had many cities, Fedorov even put forward the idea that the name Tivertsy derived from a Slavonic word for "citadel" or "fortified city."[244]

In some of his works, Fedorov also had to admit that several objects from sites in the MSSR resembled those found in Czechoslovakia or Poland. At stake were mainly certain types of pottery and jewelry.[245] The pottery with combed

240 Fedorov, "Tivertsy," 258; Fedorov, "Drevnie slaviane v Moldavii," 43; Fedorov, "Itogi i zadachi izucheniia drevneslavianskoĭ kul'tury," 6–28; Georgiĭ B. Fedorov, "Drevnerusskaia kul'tura Podnestrov'ia (X–XII vv.)," in *Drevniaia kul'tura Moldavii*, ed., Valentin S. Zelenchuk and al. (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1974), 123.

241 These strongholds were surrounded by ditches and earthen ramparts with wooden palisades. Inside each one of them, there was usually a well and some constructions, interpreted either as workshops or as public buildings. Each stronghold, according to Fedorov, had several satellite villages or suburbs, the so-called "posady," which were inhabited by craftsmen. Eighty-two of these villages have been so far identified. Fedorov also attributed to the Tivertsy a burial mound cemetery, two flat cemeteries, and two small clusters of burials. Fedorov and [Cebotarenco] Chebotarenko, *Pamiatniki*, 53–116.

242 Fedorov, "Slavianskie gorodishcha v Moldavii," 46; Fedorov, "Itogi trekhletnikh rabot," 14–16; Georgiĭ B. Fedorov, "Drevnerusskiĭ gorod na Dnestre," *Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR* 10 (1960): 41.

243 Georgiĭ B. Fedorov, "Rabota Prutsko-dnestrovskoĭ arkheologo-ėtnograficheskoi ėkspeditsii v 1962 godu," *Kratkie soobshcheniia o polevykh arkheologicheskikh isledovaniiakh Odesskogo gosudarstvennogo arkheologicheskogo muzeia* 1962 goda (1964): 73.

244 Fedorov, *Drevnie Slaviane v Prutsko-Dnestrovskom*, 11.

245 Fedorov, "Tivertsy," 255; Fedorov, "Rabota slaviano-dnestrovskoĭ," 89; Fedorov, "Slaviane Podnestrov'ia," 152; Fedorov, "Gorodishche Ekimeutsy," 125–126.

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decoration in straight or wavy lines that was found in the MSSR and which, in the eyes of Soviet archaeologists, constituted an irrefutable proof of the presence of medieval Russians, according to Fedorov, had a peculiar and very clear characteristic, for it was tempered with pyrite, which gave it the appearance of being gilded.[246] Fedorov also noted the presence on the MSSR sites of a large quantity of horse bones.[247] Those were animals of large size, yet Soviet zooarchaeologists of that time maintained that the horses used by the Rus' between the ninth and the fourteenth centuries were of rather medium size, if not small.[248]

Instead of entertaining doubts about those sites truly belonging to a "unitary" Russian civilization or about the theoretical concepts driving his research, Fedorov looked for ways to explain away such particularities. The pottery was to just a "local variety" of Russian ceramics.[249] As for the horse bones, he simply proposed that "in the ninth to the twelfth centuries, the Tivertsy used large horses on a large scale."[250] According to Fedorov, the defensive system of the strongholds found in the MSSR was more sophisticated than that of strongholds elsewhere in the "Russian lands" because the Tivertsy lived on the border of medieval Russia, and therefore faced more often the raids of the nomads. They therefore had to develop a more efficient defensive system.[251] Moreover, according to Fedorov, the Tivertsy were intermediaries between the rest of the Slavs in the east, and the Slavs in the west, and it is for that reason that their strongholds looked like those in Poland or in Czechoslovakia. In any event, he argued, the artefacts found in the MSSR and those of Poland and Czechoslovakia are not "identical," they only "resembled" each other, while artefacts found in Moldova, Ukraine and Russia were truly identical.[252]

246 Fedorov, "Slaviane Podnestrov'ia (K itogam rabot slaviano-dnestrovskoĭ e ėkspeditsii v 1951 godu)," 98; Fedorov, "Slaviane Podnestrov'ia," 149; Fedorov, "Itogi trekhletnikh rabot," 9.

247 Fedorov, "Rabota slaviano-dnestrovskoĭ," 90.

248 Veniamin I. Tsalkin, *Materialy dlia istorii skotovodstva i okhoty v drevneĭ Rusi: po dannym izucheniia kostnykh ostatkov iz raskopok arkheologicheskikh pamiatnikov lesnoi polosy Evropeiskoi chasti SSSR* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1956), 93.

249 Fedorov, "Slaviane Podnestrov'ia (K itogam rabot slaviano-dnestrovskoĭ ėkspeditsii v 1951 godu)," 98; Fedorov, "Slaviane Podnestrov'ia," 149; Fedorov, "Itogi trekhletnikh rabot," 9.

250 Fedorov, "Rabota slaviano-dnestrovskoĭ," 90.

251 Fedorov, "Slavianskie gorodishcha v Moldavii," 46; Fedorov, "Itogi trekhletnikh rabot," *Kratkie soobshcheniia instituta istorii material'noĭ kul'tury* 56 (1954): 14–16; Fedorov, "Drevnerusskiĭ gorod," 41.

252 Fedorov, "Tivertsy," 255; Fedorov, "Rabota slaviano-dnestrovskoĭ," 89; Fedorov, "Slaviane Podnestrov'ia," 152; Fedorov, "Gorodishche Ekimeutsy," 125–126; Fedorov, "Gorodishche Ekimeutsy," 125.

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Those were assertions, not explanations based on the study of sources which would have shown, for example, that in between the ninth and the twelfth centuries the territory of the MSSR was more frequented by nomadic peoples than the territory of Ukraine or Russia. Nor has Fedorov ever presented any analysis or statistical studies showing that the artefacts found in the MSSR have a higher degree of resemblance with those from Ukraine and Russia than with those found in Poland and Czechoslovakia.

In the 1950s, like his former professors and several other Soviet archaeologists, Fedorov drew inspiration from Spitsyn's study, seeking to identify the material elements particular to the Tivertsy. He was the first archaeologist to make such an attempt for that particular tribe. His chose a type of ring he called Echimăuţi, after a stronghold identified in the northeastern part of the MSSR, and dated between the ninth and the mid-eleventh century. According to Fedorov, most such rings were found in the MSSR, especially in Echimăuţi. In 1953, there were 35 specimens known from that stronghold. In addition, such dress accessories were found together with tools used for their production. According to Fedorov, their presence in other parts of Europe, such as Ukraine, Hungary or Czechoslovakia, was the result of the trade relations between the Tivertsy and their neighbors.[253]

The large number of such rings found in Echimăuţi together with the tools employed for their production, however, is the result of the specific conditions on the site, the occupation of which ended in a devastating a fire.[254] In addition, such rings were not as rare outside the MSSR as Fedorov originally believed. Such rings are now known from several regions of Central Europe, the Balkans, and even Scandinavia.[255] Such finds were already known during Fedorov's lifetime, which is why in his later works published between 1960 and 1970, Fedorov abandoned the idea of the Echimăuţi-type of ring being an ethnic marker for the "Russian" Tivertsy.[256] However, in a monograph published in the first half of the 1980s, of which Fedorov was a co-author, his old idea was repeated, but without other arguments than those used in the 1950s.[257]

253 Fedorov, "Tivertsy," 255–256; Fedorov, "Slaviane Podnestrov'ia," 150–151; Fedorov, "Gorodishche Ekimeutsy," 125.

254 Fedorov, "Gorodishche Ekimeutsy," 104–126; E.Iu. Novikova, "O ser'gakh « ekimautskogo tipa »," *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo ordena Lenina Istoricheskogo muzeia* 74 (1990): 114.

255 Novikova, "O ser'gakh," 107.

256 Fedorov, "Itogi i zadachi izucheniia drevneslavianskoĭ kul'tury," 25–29; Fedorov, *Drevnie Slaviane v Prutsko-Dnestrovskom*, 4–14; Fedorov, "Drevnerusskaia kul'tura," 118–119.

257 Fedorov and al., *Braneshtskii mogil'nik*, 48–49.

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5.4 *Kievan Rus and the Territory of the MSSR*

The Historiographical Context

Among the elements that made up the pro-Russian nationalist discourse reinvigorated by Stalin in the second half of the 1930s, the medieval city of Kiev had a special place. The most important Soviet historians of the 1940s and 1950s claimed that Kiev was "the center of a great state," even the "greatest state of medieval Europe."[258] They called it Kievan Rus or the Old Russian state, phrases which were never used by those who lived in that "state."[259] The phrase "Kievan Rus'" echoed the place attributed to that city in Stalin's propagandist speech, which made the glorious Soviet Union a successor of the equally glorious Kievan Rus. Like the legendary prince Oleg, who at the beginning of the tenth century had hung his shield on the door of Constantinople to signal his victory against the Eastern Roman Empire, Stalin's soldiers hoisted the red flag on the Reichstag building. Kievan Rus had thus become a symbol of the military power, but also economic and cultural genius of the Russian people.

In Moldovan Soviet historiography, the importance of Kiev was emphasized since the end of the 1930s. According to that view, between the tenth and twelfth centuries, the territory of the MSSR was an "organic part" of the Kievan state, a fact that contributed to greater political and economic stability, literacy, the development of culture, and even the emergence of the medieval state of Moldavia.[260]

Those were pure fabrications, with no relation to sources or facts, meant for only for propaganda. However, one cannot exclude the possibility that at least some Moldovan historians sincerely believed that the territory of their republic had once been part of Kievan Rus. In doing so, they relied on the testimony of the Russian Primary Chronicle, which contains a letter the Kievan prince Sviatoslav Igorevich (945–972) wrote to his mother from Bulgaria. In that letter, Sviatoslav exclaimed: "I do not like Kiev; I wish to live at Pereyaslavets on the Danube; because this is the center of my land."[261] There is of course no reference here to the territory of the MSSR. However, given its geographical

258 Boris D. Grekov, *Kievskaia Rus'* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1953), 11; Vladimir V. Mavrodin, *Obrazovanie drevnerusskogo gosudarstva* (Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo ordena Lenina Universiteta, 1945), 287.

259 Danilevskiĭ, *Drevniaia Rus'*, 169.

260 Senkevich, "Istoricheskie puti," 24; Vasiliĭ M. Senkevich, "Obrazovanie moldavskogo gosudarstva," *Uchenye zapiski* 1 (1949): 80; Udal'tsov and Cherepnin, ed., *Istoriia Moldavii*, 55–60.

261 Some authors located that city in Dobrudja, a province in the southeastern part of present-day Romania. Others believe that Pereiaslavets was Preslav, the capital of tenth-century Bulgaria. Danilevskiĭ, *Povest'*, 162.

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position between Kiev (the city where Olga was at the time Sviatoslav wrote the letter) and the river Danube (explicitly mentioned in the text), it was not very difficult to make the case that the territory of the MSSR must have been an "organic part" of Kievan Rus. If additional support for that idea was need, according to the Russian Primary Chronicle in 885 Prince Oleg the Wise had subjected in 885 several Slavic peoples, but not the Tivertsy and the Uliches, despite waging war against them. Later, however, the Tivertsy are mentioned as sending troops to the Rus' army attacking Byzantium (907 and 944). The Tivertsy are in fact mentioned for the last time in the chronicle in the context of the second Rus' raid on Byzantium. All that, according to the authors of the first synthesis of history of the MSSR, showed the integration of the Tivertsy and the Uliches (and, by default, of the territory of the MSSR) into Kievan Rus, a process presumably finalized by the mid-tenth century.[262] This was not the first time that these arguments were advanced. During the second half of the nineteenth century, Russian historians have already used them to justify the Russian occupation of Bessarabia.[263]

By writing their works within the framework of the national paradigm, historians of the Tsarist era, as well as those of the Soviet era, had difficulty grasping the fact that, given the annalistic genre to which the Russian Primary Chronicle actually belongs, the words attributed to Sviatoslav cannot be taken at face value. More importantly, that Sviatoslav wanted to remain in "Pereyaslavets on the Danube" does not mean that that town was now the geographical center of "the Kievan State."[264] Moreover, according to other medieval sources between the ninth and the twelfth century the territory of the MSSR and its surroundings were successively controlled by Magyars, Pechenegs, Oghuz, and Cumans.[265] The authors of the first summary of history of the MSSR apparently knew about these sources, but chose to interpret them as indicating that nomads came, invaded, and moved away, with no permanent presence or

262 Udal'tsov and Cherepnin, ed., *Istoriia Moldavii*, 55–60.

263 Batiushkov, ed., *Bessarabiia*, 27–28.

264 Danilevskiĭ, *Drevniaia Rus'*, 170–181; Danilevskiĭ, *Povest'*, 161–169 and 207–214.

265 Andreĭ O. Dobroliubskiĭ, *Kochevniki Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomor'ia v ėpokhu srednevekov'ia* (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1986); Victor Spinei, *Realități etnice și politice în Moldova meridională în secolele X–XIII. Români și turanici* (Jassy: Junimea, 1985); Victor Spinei, *Ultimele valuri migratoare la nordul Mării Negre și al Dunării de jos* (Jassy: Helios, 1996); Victor Spinei, *Marile migrații din estul și sud-estul Europei în secolele IX–XIII* (Jassy: Institutul European, 1999); Vladimir P. Shusharin, "Ėtnicheskaia istoriia Vostochnogo Prikarpat'ia v IX–XII vv. Stanovlenie rannefeodal'nykh slavianskikh gosudarstv," in *Materialy nauchnoĭ sessii pol'skikh i sovetskikh istorikov, Kiev, 1969 g.*, ed., Boris A. Rybakov (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1972), 166–179.

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control.[266] According to them, in the first half of the twelfth century, the Kievan principality must have still controlled the area, for the Rus' never stopped fighting the invaders. The situation changed in the middle of the twelfth century, when local lords gained economic and political power, and, following the example of the other principalities, separated from Kiev.

Fedorov's Point of View

In the 1950s, like other authors, Fedorov maintained that between the ninth and the eleventh centuries, or the tenth to the twelfth century (he was never certain about the exact date), the whole territory of the MSSR was part of Kievan Rus.[267] Like authors before him, Fedorov regarded the Russian Primary Chronicle as a reliable source concerning the integration of the Tivertsy and the territory of the future MSSR into Kievan Rus.[268] However, the argument he favored most was archaeological. As previously mentioned, Fedorov constantly repeated that the ninth- and tenth-century material culture in the MSSR had a "very Russian aspect," which proved that that territory had become an "organic part of the old Russian state."[269] In the 1950s Fedorov was convinced that the archaeological argument concerning the affiliation of the entire territory to Kievan Rus was quite "irrefutable."[270] Yet we have seen to what extent it was not.

In the early 1960s, Fedorov changed his mind. He now argued that only the central and northern parts of the MSSR that were part of Kievan Rus. At the same time, according to Fedorov, the south was part of the Bulgarian Empire.[271]

266 Udal'tsov and Cherepnin, ed., *Istoriia Moldavii*, 57.

267 Fedorov, "Slaviane Podnestrov'ia (K itogam rabot slaviano-dnestrovskoĭ ėkspeditsii v 1951 godu)," 100; Fedorov, "Itogi trekhletnikh rabot," 13; Georgiĭ B. Fedorov, "Rezultatele și problemele principale ale cercetărilor arheologice din sud-vestul U.R.S.S., referitoare la primul mileniu al e.n.," *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche* 2 (1959): 392–403.

268 Fedorov, "Tivertsy," 253; Fedorov, "Slaviane Podnestrov'ia (K itogam rabot slaviano-dnestrovskoĭ ėkspeditsii v 1951 godu)," 92–93; Fedorov, "Itogi trekhletnikh rabot," 11.

269 Fedorov, "Tivertsy," 258; Fedorov, "Drevnie slaviane v Moldavii," 43.

270 Fedorov, "Itogi trekhletnikh rabot," 13.

271 Fedorov, "Itogi i zadachi izucheniia drevneslavianskoĭ kul'tury," 26–27; Fedorov, *Drevnie Slaviane v Prutsko-Dnestrovskom*, 15–18; Georgiĭ B. Fedorov and Vera M. Negrusha, "Slaviane i Balkano-dunaiskaia arkheologicheskaia kul'tura," in *Kompleksnye problemy istorii i kul'tury narodov tsentral'noi i iugo-vostochnoi Evropy. Itogi i perspektivy issledovaniĭ*, ed., Vladimir D. Koroliuk and Dmitriĭ F. Markov (Moscow: Nauka, 1979), 48–56.

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5.5 *The Bulgarian Empire and the Lands between the Dniester and the Prut Rivers*

Historiographical Context

Some Byzantine and Western sources dating from the ninth to the eleventh centuries suggest a Bulgarian domination in the lands north of the river Danube, including the territory of Bessarabia, especially in its southern part. However, the vague chronology and the imprecise location of events narrated gave way to multiple speculations.[272] In the second decade of the twentieth century, the question of the domination of the Bulgarian Empire in the lands north of the Lower Danube, in particular on a large part or in all the provinces of Greater Romania, became the subject of much debate between the Romanian and Bulgarian historians, a debate reflecting the confrontation of national ideologies and territorial disputes. The obscurity of the sources was to the advantage of both groups. Romanian historians minimized or completely denied such a domination, while Bulgarian historians strongly affirmed it.[273] However, in the nineteenth century, the most important Romanian historians had no problems with the possibility of a Bulgarian domination of the Romanian lands. According to such views, Romanian and Bulgarians lived side by side between the late seventh and the early eleventh century, until Bulgaria was weakened by Magyar and Pecheneg attacks and Romanians began forming their own states. That was the way in which (Old Church) Slavonic in the Moldavia and Wallachia, as well as in Transylvania.[274]

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272 Stelian Brezeanu, "« La Bulgarie d'au-delà de l'Ister » à la lumière des sources écrites," *Etudes balkaniques* 4 (1984): 121–135.

273 Nicolae Bănescu, *Bizanțul și romanitatea dela Dunărea-de-jos* (Bucharest: Tipografia românească, 1938), 20–22; Nicolae Bănescu, *L'ancien État bulgare et les pays roumains* (Bucharest: Institut roumain d'études byzantines, 1947); Vasil N. Zlatarski, "Le sort historique et politique de la Dobroudia," in *La Dobroudia, géographie, histoire, ethnographie, importance économique et politique*, ed. by Anastas Ichirkov and al. (Sofia: Imprimerie de la Cour, 1918), 47–49.

274 Such an opinion was not entirely innocent. It emerged in the context of the confrontation with certain Hungarian and Austrian historians who challenged the idea that Romanians were native to their own lands, especially Transylvania, thus rejecting the demands of the Romanian elite in that province to obtain the status of nation with the same rights as the official nations of the province—Hungarians, Saxons, and Szeklers. According to Hungarian and Austrian historians, the Romanians had migrated from the Balkan territories controlled by the Bulgarian Empire. They had moved to Transylvania only in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, bringing with them the tradition of Slavonic Church writing. It is precisely to counter that argument that Romanian historians embraced the idea of Bulgarian domination over the lands north of the Danube, including Transylvania. Nicolae-Șerban Tanașoca and Tudor Teoteoi, "L'extension de la domination bulgare au nord du danube aux VIII^{e}–X^{e} siècles," *Etudes balkaniques* 4 (1984): 111–113.

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Such an interpretation was also shared by Russian men of letters of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, who made study visits in the provinces inhabited by Romanians, or simply had the opportunity to get acquainted with their historiographical production.[275] That point of view was not, however, unanimously held by all Russian historians. According to some, the Bulgarian domination over Transylvania, part of Wallachia, and Moldavia lasted for only a few decades, at the time of Khan Asparukh (681–701), the founder of the early medieval Bulgarian state.[276]

The Russian authors who studied the history of Bessarabia followed roughly the trends described above. Some were inclined to believe in a short-lived Bulgarian presence.[277] Others argued for a long-term presence.[278]

However, it should be pointed out that, that with very few exceptions, the Russian authors did not give too much importance to this topic.[279] In general, their opinions were very expeditious and less concerned with evidence. It was also the case of the first Soviet specialists in Bulgarian Studies, such as Fedor Uspenskii and Nikolaĭ Derzhavin. According to the former, the powerful Khan Omurtag (814–831) controlled a very extensive region which included Moldavia. According to Derzhavin, Bulgaria included between the late seventh and the ninth century all Romanian territories, as well as Bessarabia.[280]

In 1954 a Soviet synthesis of the history of Bulgaria was published. It was conceived as a guide for the new "popular Bulgarian" historiography. The authors of that synthesis had nothing to say about the Bulgarian domination north of the Danube. They implied, however, that during the first half of the

275 Iuriĭ I. Venelin, *Kriticheskie issledovaniia ob istorii bolgar* (Moscow: V Tipografii Nikolaia Stepanova, 1849), 1–6; 91 and 220–237; Nikolaĭ Boretskiĭ-Bergfel'd, *Istoriia Rymynii* (Saint Petersburg: Brokgauz-Efron, 1909), 23–26; Viktor I. Grigorovich, *Doneseniia V.I. Grigorovicha ob ego puteshestvii po slavianskim zemliam* (Kazan: Izdanie Otdeleniia russkago iazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1915), 18, 28.

276 Nikolaĭ P. Ovsianyi, "Bolgariia," in Nikolaĭ P. Ovsianyi. *Bolgariia* / Aleksandr Pogodin. *Istoriia Bolgarii* / K. Dmitriev. *Bolgariia* / S. Shumalov, A. Andreev. *Bolgarskaia khronika* (Moscow: Monolit-Evrolints-Traditsiia, 2002), 6–11; Aleksandr Pogodin, "Istoriia Bolgarii," in Nikolaĭ P. Ovsianyi. *Bolgariia* / Aleksandr Pogodin. *Istoriia Bolgarii* / K. Dmitriev. *Bolgariia* / S. Shumalov, A. Andreev. *Bolgarskaia khronika* (Moscow: Monolit-Evrolints-Traditsiia, 2002), 73.

277 Zashchuk, *Bessarabskaia oblast'*, 4; Batiushkov, ed., *Bessarabiia*, 18–19.

278 Nakko, *Istoriia Bessarabii*, 661–681, 738–771 and 774.

279 Nakko, *Istoriia Bessarabii*, 661–681, 738–771 and 774; Venelin, *Kriticheskie issledovaniia*, 1–6, 91 and 220–237.

280 Fedor I. Uspenskiĭ, *Istoriia Vizantiiskoi imperii* (Leningrad: Izdanie avtora, 1927), 267; Nikolaĭ S. Derzhavin, *Istoriia Bolgarii*. T. 1 (Moscow/Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1945); Nikolaĭ S. Derzhavin, *Istoriia Bolgarii*. T. 2 (Moscow/Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1946).

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ninth century, Bulgaria incorporated certain territories of future Romania.[281] They also suggested that the northern border of medieval Bulgaria as "officially recognized by the Byzantine Empire" was on the Danube.[282] This was probably a hint at the fact that Bulgaria and Romania—both members of the "great socialist family"—had now to end the old quarrels. In any case, the USSR recognized the territorial configuration established in 1940, when Romania handed over to Bulgaria Southern Dobrudja, a territory disputed since 1913, when it was annexed to Romania after the Second Balkan War.

Three years prior to the above-mentioned text, the first synthesis of the history of the MSSR appeared. Its purpose was to showcase the historical links between the territories of the Moldovan republic and the USSR, and did not make any mention of the Bulgarian domination on the territory of the MSSR. The one who introduced that subject to Moldovan Soviet historiography in the early 1960s was Georgiĭ Fedorov.

Fedorov's Point of View

According to Fedorov, since the late ninth or early tenth to the mid-eleventh century, the southern part of the MSSR was under the cultural and political influence of Bulgaria, and even part of that state.[283] This was his explanation for a set of artefacts and archaeological assemblages in the southern part of the MSSR, which he believed to be a distinct civilization, spread, apart from the MSSR, on the edge of the Ukrainian Black Sea, bounded by Prut and Dniester, in Bulgaria, and in parts of Serbia and Romania.[284] This explanation was

281 Pëtr N. Tret'iakov and al., *Istoriia Bolgarii*. T. 1 (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1954), 68–70.

282 Pëtr N. Tret'iakov and al., *Istoriia Bolgarii*. T. 1 (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1954), 59.

283 Fedorov, "Itogi i zadachi izucheniia drevneslavianskoĭ kul'tury," 29; Fedorov, *Drevnie Slaviane v Prutsko-Dnestrovskom*, 17; Fedorov and Salmanovich, *Ėtnicheskaia i kul'turnaia istoriia*, 4; Fedorov and Salmanovich, "Ėtnokul'turnye kompleksy," 60; Georgiĭ B. Fedorov and [Gheorghe Cebotarenco] Georgiĭ F. Chebotarenko, "Kul'tura pervogo Bolgarskogo tsarstva v Karpato-Dunaiskikh i Karpato-Dnestrovskikh zemliakh," in *Tezisy dokladov vsesoiuznoi sessii posviashchennoĭ itogam arkheologicheskikh i ėtnograficheskikh issledovaniĭ 1966 goda*, ed., Ėmmanuil A. Rikman (Kishinev: Akademija nauk SSSR. Institut arkheologii. Institut ėtnografii im. N.N. Miklukho-Maklaia/Akademiia nauk Moldavskoĭ SSR. Institut istorii, 1967), 29.

284 According to Fedorov, in the MSSR, the first site belonging to that civilization was identified in 1959. By the mid-1970s, Fedorov and Cebotarenco noted the existence of 49 sites: 47 villages, a stronghold and a cemetery. Fedorov and Negrusha, "Slaviane," 49; Fedorov and [Cebotarenco] Chebotarenko, *Pamiatniki*, 40–52; [Gheorghe Cebotarenco] Georgiĭ F. Chebotarenko, *Kalfa—gorodishche VIII–X vv. na Dnestre* (Kishinev: Shtiintsa,

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somewhat logical, for, as we noted, certain written sources suggested a Bulgarian presence in this region.

Following Maria Comşa, a Romanian archaeologist who had studied such assemblages in her country, Fedorov called this the Balkan-Danubian civilization.[285] According to him, it was ceramics and dwellings that marked the specificity of that civilization. The pottery came in two varieties: the pottery that was "usual for the Slavs, the one with a decoration in straight or undulating horizontal lines," and the "gray ornamented by polishing" pottery of "Khazar tradition." The mention of the Khazars was a hint at the territory of the Khazar Empire in the steppe lands north of the Caspian Sea, from which the Bulgars of Asparukh originated.[286] According to Fedorov, the proportion of these two ceramic varieties on every site was very unequal—60 to 90 percent for the former; 10 to 30 percent for the latter.[287] As for the dwellings, they were generally sunken-floored buildings with a stone oven or hearth in the corner, only rarely yurts with hearths. The sunken-floored buildings with stone ovens were considered of Slavic traditions, while the yurts passed for nomadic, in this case Bulgar. According to Fedorov, these proportions reflected the Bulgarian ethnogenesis, which, according to the Soviet historiography, took place when a minority of Bulgars from the lands of the Khazar Empire subjugated and ancient Slavic tribes. The former were absorbed by the Slavic mass, thus contributing to the birth of a new people to whom they gave their name.[288]

It should also be noted that in the 1960s and even in the first half of the 1970s, Fedorov admitted that among bearers of this civilization there could have been a "Romanized tribe," which, over time, gave way to two distinct peoples, the Moldovans and the Romanians.[289] However, by the late 1970s he did not

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1973), 3–4; Georgiĭ B. Fedorov, "Raboty Prutsko-dnestrovskoĭ ėkspeditsii v 1960–1961 gg.," *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta Arkheologii* 99 (1964): 78–79.

285 In one of his articles, Fedorov claimed that the name for that civilization was first used in 1960 during a discussion which took place at the Institute of Archaeology of Bucharest between him and Maria Comşa. Fedorov is mistaken, for in an article published in 1958, Comşa had already used that name. Fedorov and Negrusha, "Slaviane," 49; [Maria Comșa] Maria Chișvasi-Comșa, "Slavii de răsărit pe teritoriul R.P.R. și pătrunderea elementului romanic în Moldova în baza datelor arheologice," *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche* 1 (1958): 82–84.

286 Fedorov and Negrusha, "Slaviane," 50–51.

287 Fedorov and Negrusha, "Slaviane," 52.

288 Fedorov, "Itogi i zadachi izucheniia drevneslavianskoĭ kul'tury," 27.

289 Fedorov, *Drevnie Slaviane v Prutsko-Dnestrovskom mezhdurech'e*, 15; Fedorov and [Cebotarenco] Chebotarenko, "Kul'tura pervogo Bolgarskogo tsarstva," 29; Fedorov and [Cebotarenco] Chebotarenko, *Pamiatniki*, 5.

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believe any more in that possibility.[290] I shall return in the next chapter to the problem of the Balkan-Danubian civilization and explain Fedorov's attitude.

5.6 *The Kingdom of Halych-Volhynia and the Territory between the Dniester and Prut Rivers*

The Historiographical Context

The interest of Soviet historians in the history of Halych-Volhynia began in the late 1930s, in the context of the need to justify the occupation of the Polish territories east of the Western Bug and San rivers to the USSR in 1939. The general ideological atmosphere was also favorable to that surge of interest, for the cosmopolitan discourse was abandoned in favor of Soviet patriotism on a Russian cultural basis.[291] In the Soviet historiography of the 1940s and 1950s, Halych-Volhynia, a principality that appeared in the late twelfth century through the dynastic union of the Rus' principalities of Halych and Volhynia, was regarded as part of the "Russian lands." After the demise of Kievan Rus in the aftermath of the Mongol invasion, Halych-Volhynia became one of the most prominent economic and political centers of Rus'. According to Soviet historians, it was thanks to the efforts of the princes of Halych-Volhynia that the Russian border in the west was long protected from Hungarian, Lithuanian and Polish invaders.[292]

Following the same line of thinking, Moldovan historians also noted the importance of the Halych-Volhynian kingdom.[293] For the authors of the first synthesis of the history of the MSSR, Halych-Volhynia was an "avant-garde state," which occupied "a place of honor on the European political map."[294] According to such views, the region of the MSSR had been part of that state during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Those were very good times, similar to those when the territory of the MSSR was part of Kievan Rus. In support of the idea of integrating the territory of the future MSSR into Halych-Volhynia, and according to a pre-existing historiographic tradition dating back to the Tsarist era, the epic poem *The Lay of the Host of Igor* was evoked.[295] According to that poem,

290 Fedorov and Negrusha, "Slaviane," 48–49.

291 Aleksandr V. Maĭorov, *Galitsko-Volynskaia Rus'. Ocherki sotsial'no-politicheskikh otnosheniĭ v domongol'skiĭ period. Kniaz', Boiare i gorodskaia obshchina* (Saint Petersburg: Universitetskaia kniga, 2001), 70.

292 Derzhavin, "Proiskhozhdenie," 22–23; Vladimir Picheta, *Osnovnye momenty istoricheskogo razvitiia zapadnoi Ukrainy i zapadnoi Belorusii* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoe izdatel'stvo, 1940), 6 and 16; Aleksandr K. Kasimenko and al., ed., *Istoriia Ukrainskoi SSSR*. T. 1 (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1953), 101–102.

293 Nartsov, "Istoricheskie sud'by," 86–87.

294 Udal'tsov and Cherepnin, ed., *Istoriia Moldavii*, 70.

295 Zashchuk, *Bessarabskaia oblast'*, 5.

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the power of the Halych-Volhynian Prince Yaroslav Osmomysl (1130 [?]–1187) reached as far as the Danube. The poem, however, was contradicted by the Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia, written in the thirteenth century. According to the chronicle, the southern frontiers of Halych-Volhynia were on the upper reaches of the Dniester and the Prut. In his book published in Moscow one year before the first synthesis of history of the MSSR, the Moscow-based historian Areseniĭ Nasonov gave credence to the chronicle.[296] However, his conclusion did not influence the opinion set out in the synthesis.[297]

Fedorov's Point of View

According to all evidence, Fedorov was much more sensitive to the historical links between the territory of the MSSR and Kievan Rus than to the problem of the territory belonging to Halych-Volhynia. He only devoted some short notes to the latter topic, which he inserted into some of his articles. According to those notes, in the early 1950s, he was convinced that during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a "large part of Moldavia" belonged to Halych-Volhynia.[298] By the end of that same decade, in the midst of the "Khrushchev Thaw," he was no longer that certain. Fedorov confined himself to suggesting the presence of some political influence from Halych-Volhynia on the northern parts of the MSSR.[299] In the first half of the 1970s, he was more explicit, asserting unequivocally and in unison with his former Moldovan student, Gheorghe Cebotarenco, that the territory of MSSR had never been part of that state.[300]

It is true that Fedorov knew about Nasonov's work claiming that the borders of southern Halych and Volhynia were on the upper reaches of the Dniester and the Prut rivers. However, it was not that that made him change his mind. Instead, it was the research carried out by Ukrainian archaeologist Boris Timoshchuk. In the late 1960s, Timoshchuk noticed that some eleventh- to fourteenth-century artefacts that were usually regarded as archaeological markers of Halych-Volhynia, were not present on the territory of the MSSR. On the upper reaches of the Dniester and the Prut, inside Ukrainian territory, the

296 Areseniĭ N. Nasonov, *«Russkaia zemlia» i obrazovanie territorii drevnerusskogo gosudarstvo, istoriko-geograficheskoe issledovanie* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1951), 137–141.

297 Iu. Stamati, "Un sujet historiographique et ses dimensions idéologiques, le territoire de la Moldavie et la frontière du sud du royaume Galicie-Volhynie selon les historiens et les archéologues soviétiques moldaves," *Plural: history, culture, society* 1/1–2 (2013): 53–66.

298 Fedorov, "Slaviane Podnestrov'ia," 152; Fedorov, "Slavianskie gorodishcha v Moldavii," 50.

299 Fedorov, "Rezultatele şi problemele principale," 403; Fedorov, "Raboty Prutsko-dnestrovskoĭ," 79; Fedorov, "Itogi i zadachi izucheniia drevneslavianskoĭ kul'tury," 29; Fedorov, *Drevnie Slaviane v Prutsko-Dnestrovskom*, 22.

300 Fedorov and [Cebotarenco] Chebotarenko, *Pamiatniki*, 9–10.

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same archaeologist identified and studied several strongholds, which he saw as frontier fortresses of that medieval state.[301]

Fedorov's final abandonment of his former position may have also been because of doubts about the authenticity of *The Lay of the Host of Igor*, the written source on which the claim was based, according to which the territory of the MSSR had been part of Galicia-Volhynia. For the Soviet official historiography, *The Lay of the Host of Igor* was the expression of the Russian literary genius of the medieval period. The twelfth century was regarded as the undisputed moment of its creation, although even before its first publication in 1800, several authors have raised doubts about its authenticity.[302] The only Soviet historian who did so openly was Aleksandr Zimin. In a study from the early 1960s, Zimin proposed the eighteenth century as the date for the creation of the poem. Some of those who knew his opinion at the time adhered to it. Yet, the ideological section of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the leadership of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR did their best to discredit Zimin and his followers. For a long time, the full text of Zimin's analysis of *The Lay of the Host of Igor* was only accessible to a limited audience.[303] I am almost certain

301 Nikolaĭ F. Kotliar, *Formirovanie territorii i vozniknovenie gorodov Galitsko-Volynskoĭ Rusi IX–XIII vv.* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1985), 98–117; Boris A. Timoshchuk, *Pivnichna Bukovina—zemlia slovians'ka* (Uzhhorod: Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1969), 66; Boris A. Timoshchuk, *Davn'orus'ka Bukovina* (*X–persha polovina XIV st.*) (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1982), 68–86.

302 Some considered it a masterpiece of the twelfth century, others, more skeptical, dated it to the fourteenth, fifteenth or even sixteenth century. Still others treated it as a forgery created in the seventeenth or even the eighteenth century. Jean-Pierre Arrignon, *La Russie médiévale* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2003), 156; Aleksandr Bobrov, "Problema podlinnosti «Slovo o polku Igoreve» i Efrosin Belozerskiĭ," *Acta Slavica Iaponica* 22 (2005): 238–297; Aleksandr A. Zimin, *Slovo o polku Igoreve* (Saint Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2006); Andreĭ A. Zaliznіak, *« Slovo o polku Igoreve »: vzgliad lingvista* (Moscow: Rukopisnye pamiatniki Drevneĭ Rusi, 2008).

303 Zimin's analysis of this poem, on which he continued to work until his death in 1980, was only published in 2006. Aleksandr A. Zimin, *Slovo o polku Igoreve* (Saint Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2006). For the history of Zimin's analysis, but also for other authors who question the authenticity of this poem, see Aleksandr A. Formozov, "A.A. Zimin. Slovo o polku Igoreve," *Voprosy istorii* 6–7 (1992): 96–103; Valentina G. Zimina, „K chitateliu," in *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, by Aleksandr A. Zimin (Saint Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2006), 3–4; Oleg V. Tvorogov, "O knige A.A. Zimina," in *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, by Aleksandr A. Zimin (Saint Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2006), 5–7; Lev N. Pushkarev, "A.A. Zimin. "Slovo o polku Igoreve," *Voprosy istorii* 11 (2007), 163–166; Lidiia V. Sokolova, "Novye mify o starom (po povodu interv'iu na radiostantsiiakh «Ekho Moskvy» i «Svoboda» v sviazi s vykhodom knigi A.A. Zimina «Slovo o polku Igoreve»)," *Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana* 1/2 (2007): 23–38; Lidiia V. Sokolova, ed., *Istoriia spora o podlinnosti "Slova o polku Igoreve": materialy diskusii 1960-x godov* (Saint Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo "Pushkinskii Dom", 2010);

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that Fedorov was part of that selected audience, because his former professor Artemiĭ Artsikhovskiĭ, as well as his close friend, the archaeologist Aleksandr Mongajt, had been part of it since at least 1964.[304] His friend even inclined to give credit to Zimin's analysis and pleaded for publication. According to him, it could help prevent "the establishment of dogmatism in science."[305] It is likely that another of Fedorov's close friends, the historian Aleksandr Nekrich, may have also had knowledge at that time of Zimin's study.[306]

Fedorov's change of mind was made possible by the "Khrushchev Thaw." In the next chapter, I will examine in more detail how, since the late 1960s, Moldovan historiography, strongly encouraged by central and local ideological bodies, began to polemicize with "foreign" historians who had begun to question the legality of the Soviet occupation of Bessarabia and question the existence of a Moldovan ethnic group. By the same token, the same "foreign" historians (above all, from Romania) minimized the contribution of the Slavic tribes to the history of the region. That is why in 1970, under the aegis of the Academy of Sciences of the MSSR, a scientific committee was set up to examine the role that the Slavs played in the history of the region in general and in the ethnogenesis of Moldovans, in particular.[307]

Given those circumstances, Fedorov's change of mind regarding the inclusion of the territory of the MSSR into Halych-Volhynia may be seen as a real act of courage. However, this is not the case. By abandoning his former position, Fedorov did not at all minimize the role of the Slavs, for in the eleventh to fourteenth century the territory of the future MSSR was still inhabited by Slavs, notably by those of Halych-Volhynia known as "Halychian Vygontsy." According to Soviet historians, the phrase referred to "refugees" or "exiles" from

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Edward L. Keenan, *Josef Dobrovsky and the Origins of the Igor Tale* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003); Francis Butler, "Edward Keenan, Vladimir Dal' and the Slovo o polku Igoreve," *Russian History* 33 (2006): 217–233.

304 Lidiia V. Sokolova, ed., *Istoriia spora o podlinnosti "Slova o polku Igoreve": materialy diskusii 1960-x godov* (Saint Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo "Pushkinskii Dom", 2010), 240–248 and 481–486.

305 Lidiia V. Sokolova, ed., *Istoriia spora o podlinnosti "Slova o polku Igoreve": materialy diskusii 1960-x godov* (Saint Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo "Pushkinskii Dom", 2010), 486.

306 In his memoirs published in London in 1979, Nekrich gave a list of thirteen Soviet historians whom he liked very much, among them his friend Fedorov, and Zimin. Nekrich, *Otreshis'*, 336. It should be noted, however, that in two of his articles published in the mid-1960s, Fedorov used some of the information contained in the *The Tale of Igor's Campaign*, which might suggest that he still believed in its authenticity. Fedorov, "Itogi i zadachi izucheniia drevneslavianskoĭ kul'tury," 23; Fedorov, *Drevnie Slaviane v Prutsko-Dnestrovskom*, 3.

307 Muntian, "Istoki," 94–96; Spataru, "O VIII sessii," 78–83; Zelenchuk and Zlatkovskaia, "O rabote," 123–130.

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Halych-Volhynia. The Rus' chronicles mention them in connection with the famous battle of Kalka (1223), in which the Rus' and their Cuman allies were defeated by the Mongols.[308] There is no precise information in the chronicles about the whereabouts of those "Halychian Vygontsy," but the chronicles suggest that in order to join the anti-Mongol coalition, the "exiles" started their way down the Dniester.[309] The mention of the Dniester was sufficient for Fedorov to locate them on the territory of the MSSR. According to him, the "Halychian Vygontsy" were very numerous, "tens of thousands," and they even had a "great and terrible army."[310] Their presence in the territory of the MSSR was proved by the discovery of a "specifically Halychian pottery […], albeit in small quantity," as Fedorov was forced to acknowledge.[311]

5.7 *Were the Slavs that Inhabited the Territory of the MSSR, Barbarians or a Factor of Progress?*

The Historiographical Context

Like elsewhere, historiography in Russia made a general effort to project a positive representation of those regarded as the ancestors of the Russian people. Beginning with the second half of the eighteenth century, the construction of that representation was mainly determined by debates on the "degree of development of the Slavic civilization" in general, and medieval Russians in particular, especially in relation to the role of the Varangians ("Normans") in the rise of the medieval state. The Russian Primary Chronicle, as shown above, played a key role in those debates.[312]

During much of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth century, Russian historians were busy disputing the testimony of chronicle. There were,

308 It seems that they were also present in some Byzantine sources, as allies of John Asan II, Bulgarian emperor of the first half of the thirteenth century. Vladimir T. Pashuto, *Ocherki po istorii galitsko-volynskoĭ Rusi* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1950), 169.

309 Tel'nov and al., "*… I razoshlis'slaviane*, 203–204.

310 Fedorov's calculations were based on an uncritical use of the data in the chronicles. These mentioned that the "Halychian Vygontsy" came down the Dniester on thousand "*shallops*." According to Fedorov, "if we admit that each *shallop* carried ten people, then their army had at least ten thousand soldiers. This means that the total number of 'Halychian Vygontsy' that lived on the territory of the MSSR was [in the range] of a few tens of thousands, as the soldiers also had families. In addition, no doubt, another part of the army [of the Halychian Vygontsy] remained to defend their families." Fedorov, "Itogi i zadachi izucheniia drevneslavianskoĭ kul'tury," 29–30; Fedorov, *Drevnie Slaviane v Prutsko-Dnestrovskom*, 22–23.

311 Fedorov and [Cebotarenco] Chebotarenko, *Pamiatniki*, 9–10.

312 Sixth-century authors like Procopius of Caesarea describe the very rudimentary way of life of the Slavs. Leonid A. Gindin and al., ed., *Svod drevneishikh pis'mennykh izvestiĭ o slavianakh, I–VI vv*. T. 1 (Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura, 1994), 107–108, 184 and 371–375.

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however, some authors who agreed with it, and some, drawing from Byzantine works, pointed out that the Slavs also had positive traits, such as hospitality or physical endurance.[313] Others remarked that in those days the Slavs were not the only ones who lived in barbarity.[314]

In the late 1930s when Nazi Germany, to quote Boris Rybakov, did its best to "persuade everyone that in the east there are no cultural values and that the Slavic peoples have created nothing during their entire history," the discourse defending the Slavic civilization gained considerable importance.[315] According to Soviet historians, the Slavs had played a primordial role in the history of Europe and even of "the whole of humanity." It is precisely that idea that was found in the first synthesis of the history of the MSSR. According to that book, the Slavs had contributed to the progress of ancient society. They gave "the decisive blow to the world of slavery in the Byzantine Empire, thus contributing to the birth of a more progressive society—feudalism."[316]

Fedorov's Point of View

The idea that the Slavs were a progressive force in history may also be found in Fedorov's works at different moments in his career (from the Stalinist period, but also after). Like the authors of the first synthesis of history of the MSSR, he maintained that the Slavs had been instrumental in the establishment of a more advanced social order.[317] When coming to the territory of the future MSSR, they brought "a solid economic, cultural and ethnic stability. That stability contributed to the development of crafts, the growth of commercial activity, the development of material culture, the increase in the number of human settlements, the emergence of densely populated regions, and cities, and to the accelerated advance of feudal society."[318] According to Fedorov, the Slavic civilization on the territory of the future MSSR was "highly developed, prosperous, diversified, and on several levels more advanced than the cultures of certain neighboring states."[319] It was also much more "progressive" than the civilizations or cultures of other peoples inhabiting that region at the same time. This

313 Bagalei, *Russkaia istoriia*, 108 and 143; Leonid A. Gindin and al., ed., *Svod drevneishikh pis'mennykh izvestiĭ o slavianakh, I–VI vv*. T. 1 (Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura, 1994), 369.

314 Nakko, *Istoriia Bessarabii*, 262–263.

315 Rybakov, "Mesto slaviano-russkoi arkheologii," 58.

316 Udal'tsov and Cherepnin, ed., *Istoriia Moldavii*, 47.

317 Fedorov, "Slaviane Podnestrov'ia," 126.

318 Fedorov, "Itogi i zadachi izucheniia drevneslavianskoĭ kul'tury," 24–25.

319 Fedorov, "Slaviane Podnestrov'ia (K itogam rabot slaviano-dnestrovskoĭ ėkspeditsii v 1951 godu)," 100.

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idealization of sociopolitical profile of the Slavs was further enhanced with more epithets: the Slavs were "pacifist," "hospitable," and "loved liberty."[320]

As with others before him, some of those statements were based on the testimony of the Byzantine sources. That was the case of Fedorov's opinion about the hospitality of the Slavs, a feature mentioned by in a late sixth- or early seventh-century source known as the *Strategikon*. The idea that the Slavs had been a progressive force in history may have also come from the discovery in the MSSR of 19 sites that Fedorov interpreted as strongholds or towns of the Tivertsy. In Soviet historiography, the beginning of urban life was regarded as an advanced stage in the introduction of a feudal society.[321] However, the general tone of those assessments, the completely arbitrary character of many remarks, such as claims that in several segments the Slavic civilization of the MSSR went beyond "the cultures of certain neighboring states" or that it was "more progressive than that of the cultures of the other peoples who shared the territory of the MSSR at the same time", all these recall the Soviet propaganda between the second half of the 1930s and 1950. This is another proof, if more was needed, that despite his poses as anti-Stalinist, Fedorov was not able to escape the clichés of the Stalinist propaganda. In fact, he even contributed to the perpetuation of those clichés.

Only once did Fedorov write about Slavs in a less flattering manner. In one of his articles, explaining what he saw as the "barbarization" of the material culture of the MSSR during the third and up to the fifth centuries, particularly "the disappearance of fine forms" of ceramics, he noted that the Slavs from northeastern Europe were to blame for that. According to him, the Slavs had a "more primitive social order."[322] Such an error was to be corrected. In another article, in which Fedorov took up the question of the "barbarization" of the material culture in the MSSR in the third century, "the more primitive social order" of the Slavs was no longer be invoked.[323]

320 Fedorov, "Slavianskie gorodishcha v Moldavii," 44; Fedorov, "Slaviane Podnestrov'ia," 125–126.

321 Georgiĭ B. Fedorov, "Genezis i razvitie feodalizma u drevnerusskogo naseleniia Dnestrovsko-Prutskogo mezhdurech'ia v IX–XII vv. (po arkheologicheskim dannym)," in *Iugo-vostochnaia Evropa v ėpokhu feodalizma* (*Reziume dokladov Kishinevskogo simpoziuma 1973 g.*), ed., Vladimir D. Koroliuk and Pavel V. Sovetov (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1973), 42; Lazar' L. Polevoĭ, "Razvitie gorodov Moldavii v IX–XV vv. (k tipologii feodalizma)," in *Iugo-vostochnaia Evropa v ėpokhu feodalizma* (*Reziume dokladov Kishinevskogo simpoziuma 1973 g.*), ed., Vladimir D. Koroliuk and Pavel V. Sovetov (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1973), 71.

322 Fedorov, "Tivertsy," 258.

323 Fedorov, "Drevnie slaviane v Moldavii," 40.

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5.8 *The Role of the Slavs in the Genesis of the Moldovans and of Their Culture*

The Historiographical Context

As noted previously, from the seventeenth century until the first decades of the nineteenth century, the Romanian-speaking inhabitants of Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania were often seen as Slavs in the circles of the Russian intelligentsia. The most commonly used argument were certain peculiarities of their civilization such as the names of Slavic origin for the medieval institutions in Moldavia and Wallachia, the use of Old Church Slavonic for the liturgy, and of the Cyrillic alphabet for writing, the many words of Slavic origin in the Romanian language, as well as the presence of a large Slavophone community, especially in Moldova.

In the second half of the nineteenth century and even in the early twentieth century, certain echoes of those views were still prevalent. However, for the vast majority of Russian intellectuals, the Romanians no longer appeared as Slavs but rather as neo-Latins. The fact that the Romanians themselves, with some very singular exceptions, never saw themselves as Slavs definitely has a role in this change of attitude.[324] In the context of their study tours, the Russian intellectuals won by the pan-Slavic ideals also visited the Moldavian and Wallachian Principalities. Once there, they searched archives and libraries. They developed a better understanding of the inhabitants, their language, as well as of their own opinions about their origin, all of which also contributed to that change of views.[325] However, several Russian authors continued to emphasize the Slavic contribution to the ethnogenesis of all Romanians, primarily because of the Slavic elements of the Romanian language.[326] At the same time, the rising nationalist concerns in the Russian historiography, which in the late nineteenth century were directed against Romanian to Bessarabia, prompted some Russian historians to tone down the participation of Slavs in the Romanian ethnogenesis, because the idea of Slavs among the ancestors of the Romanians ran the risk of being seen as a recognition of Romanian rights over Bessarabia. In exchange, some of those authors highlighted the contribution of the Slavs to the rise of the medieval states in Moldavia and Wallachia, and

324 Stamati, "Pourquoi les Roumains," 53–80.

325 Stamati, "Les Slaves," 786.

326 As we noted, until the creation of the Moldovan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic no one spoke of a Moldovan nation or a Moldovan ethnic group. In Russian intellectual circles, the Romanian-speaking inhabitants of Bessarabia were perceived as part of the Romanian nation.

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even argued that the Romanians had borrowed their culture from the Slavs.[327] In this way, the Romanian civilization appeared as inferior to the Slavic (read: Russian) civilization. During the First World War, when Romania and Russia were allies, this strategy was pushed aside. But in 1918, when Bessarabia united with Romania causing discontent in Russia, that had meanwhile become Bolshevik, the strategy was revived.[328]

From 1924 until the mid-1930s, stories about the ethnogenesis of the population of the MASSR were shaped in accordance to the project of constructing a Moldovan nation. The fact that the central power rejected the Russian and pan-Slavic discourse made it impossible for those narratives to insist much on the Slavic contribution, although the idea was not entirely forgotten. Some writers mentioned the Slavs in relation to the ethnogenesis of Moldovans, but not of Romanians. In other words, the Slavs now turned into the marker of difference between the two ethnic groups. For others, different Slavs participated in the ethnogenesis of the two ethnic groups: Ukrainians for Moldovans, and Bulgarians for Romanians. The re-orientation of the USSR towards a Russian nationalist ideology, as well as the need to give ideological support to the Soviet ultimatum addressed to Romania in 1940, which claimed that Bessarabia was inhabited by ethnic Ukrainians, gave the Slavs a place of honor in the

327 In the case of medieval Moldavia, authors usually cited the legend mentioned in the mid-seventeenth century by the Moldavian compiler Simion Dascălul. Batiushkov, ed., *Bessarabiia*, 46–47. That narrative gave to Ruthenians Slavs the primacy in the discovery of the territory of Moldova, as well as the status of co-founders, alongside Romanians, of the principality. According to that account, a group of Romanian hunters from Maramureş entered Moldavia while chasing an aurochs. There they met an old Ruthenian beekeeper, who was a native of Poland. He told them that Moldavia was a rich land, but devoid of population and rulers. On hearing this, the hunters returned home to bring back other Romanians. In his turn, the old man went back to Poland to bring some Ruthenians. The result was the settlement of the Romanians in the southern, and of Ruthenians in the northern half of the country. According to Dascălul, that explained why in his lifetime two languages were spoken in the country, the inhabitants of which continued to be half Ruthenian, half Romanian. Pecican ed., *Letopiseţul*, 84–85. It is likely that the narrative originated in pro-Polish circles of the Moldavian nobility. Şerban Papacostea, *Evul mediu românesc. Realităţi politice şi curente spiritual* (Bucharest: Corint, 2001), 23–46. At the same time, the legend could very well have reflected the dim memory of the arrival of a population speaking a Romance language who found in place another population speaking Slavonic. Yet another possibility is that the story was meant to explain the use in Dascălul's times of Slavonic in the chancery and of Romanian in the day-to-day conversation. In other words, bilingualism in medieval Moldavia may not have been the result of the cohabitation of a Slavophone and Romance-speaking community, but of the differential use of those languages.

328 Stamati, "Les Slaves," 790–791 and 792–793.

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ethnogenesis of the Moldovans. Moreover, some went as far as to claim that Moldovans were almost Ukrainians.[329]

In the early 1950s, when Fedorov began his Moldovan project, the story of the Moldovan ethnogenesis changed again. The authors of the first synthesis of history of the MSSR had no definite solution to that question, allegedly because of insufficient linguistic and archaeological studies. They suggested, however, that the Moldovans spoke a Romance language. Slavs were not even counted any more among participants in the ethnogenetic process. For example, the high number of Moldovan words of Slavic origin was explained away by means of the long-standing economic and cultural relations between Slavs and the Romance-speaking population of Vlachs, not by ethnic mixture.[330] The authors of the synthesis did not deny the fact that the territory of the MSSR belonged historically to the Slavic world. Both the flourishing of the Moldovan culture, in general, and the love for books and reading, in particular, stood as testimony for that.[331] But the departure from the Slavic or Ukrainian representations of Moldovans, which had been proposed since 1940, was quite evident.

Such a change may be explained by the new geopolitical context in the region. Bessarabia was now within the Soviet borders. Romania followed "the right path," as an ally of its eastern neighbor, refraining, until the 1960s, to any hints at the question of Bessarabia. Insisting on the Slavic heritage of the Moldovans made no sense any more. There were other reasons for that change as well. The publication of the first synthesis of history of the MSSR was preceded by a model drafted in 1949. Already by that time, the Moldovans were no longer presented as Slavs. According to that model, they were the result of the mixture of a Romance-speaking population with the Slavs of the east. Both peoples had an equally important role in the ethnogenesis of Moldovans. Such a rewriting of history caused dissatisfaction among Ukrainian historians. They accused the authors of this model of being under the influence of the "Romanian bourgeois historiography," and advised them to give the Slavs the status of primary and key element in the genesis of the Moldovans and of their language.[332]

329 Stamati, "Entre l'internationalisme," 363–371.

330 As we have seen, in medieval times, and even in modern times, the name Vlachs was given to the neo-Latin-speakers in the south and north of the lower Danube. In Soviet historiography, the Vlachs had the status of ethnic ancestor for Moldovans and Romanians.

331 Udal'tsov and Cherepnin, ed., *Istoriia Moldavii*, 76–78 and 89–94.

332 Negru, "Etnogeneza românilor," 55–56.

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The Ukrainian reaction has a twofold explanation.[333] First, there was a strong tradition in Ukrainian historiography of regarding the Slavic tribes as the main component of the Romanian ethnogenesis, and of course of the Moldovan ethnogenesis as well. Such views were popularized in the early twentieth century through the works of the leading Ukrainian historian Mykhailo Hrushevsky.[334] Right before the Second World War, that tradition was also embraced by some Soviet authors. The Ukrainian Communist elite regarded it as natural for Bessarabia to be integrated into their Soviet republic.[335] In that sense, the Slavic heritage of the Moldovans could be used as a strong argument. The Ukrainian nomenklatura must therefore have been quite with the creation of a separate Moldovan republic.

The abandonment, in the model of the synthesis for the history of the MSSR, of the Slavic character of the Moldovan people was most likely perceived in the Ukraine as an anti-Ukrainian strategy developed by Moldovan Communists. That perception was largely correct, because the Moldovan political and cultural elite was sensitive towards a national, pro-Moldovan identity and disagreed with the incorporation of the northern and southern parts of former Bessarabia into the Ukrainian Republic. Some people with high positions in the Moldovan Communist Party protested, sending a letter to Stalin. Their pleas were not limited to the recovery of those two regions. Their dream was the reunification of all territories of the former Moldavian Principality, including Northern Bukovina, into a single Soviet republic. It is important to note that one of the authors who wrote the part devoted to the ethnogenesis of the Moldovans for the first synthesis of the history of the MSSR was the historian

333 In the context of the time, asserting that Moldovan historians were subject to the influence of "Romanian bourgeois historiography" amounted to a serious accusation, especially since Ukrainian historians also suggested that their Moldovan colleagues were chauvinistic. Negru, "Etnogeneza românilor," 56.

334 Stamati, "Les Slaves," 785.

335 Already in 1924, the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party considered that that province, temporarily occupied by the "Romanian bourgeoisie," should be seen as a component part of the RASSM, and therefore of Ukraine. This point of view was confirmed by the speeches of some Ukrainian officials. Konstantin Derzhavin, "Kto takie Moldavane?," *Zvezda* 3 (1925): 218; Mihai Gribincea, *Basarabia în primii ani de ocupație sovietică, 1944–1950* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1995), 35–28; Vitalie Văratec, "Dezintegrarea Basarabiei la 1940 putea fi evitată," *Revista istorică* 3/1–2 (1992): 154.

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Vasiliĭ Senkevich,[336] who had taken upon himself the task of supporting with historical arguments that plea.[337]

It must be added, however, that the action of Moldovan historians, including Senkevich, was not entirely autonomous. Moscow and Leningrad historians also participated in the writing of the first synthesis of history of the MSSR.[338] Aside from a festive reception of the book held at the headquarters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Moscow, the leaders of the USSR expressed their appreciation for that work.[339] This shows that what was going on in the MSSR was closely followed by the central power interested in implementing and maintaining the Pax Sovietica. In this sense, it is cannot be excluded that the letter of protest and the plea addressed to Stalin were in fact ordered or at least suggested by Stalin himself or by his associates as a counterbalance to the nationalist views of the Ukrainian Communists.

It should also be pointed out that in that synthesis the question of the differences between Moldovans and Romanians was glossed over. Moreover, in three separate articles, Senkevich maintained that Moldovans and Romanians had the same ancestors: the Dacians and the Getae who were Romanized and turned into Vlachs after coming into contact with the ancient Slavs and adopting Slavic words in their language. Subsequently, so Senkevich, those Vlachs fell under the influence of two distinct branches of the Slavs, that of the east and that of the south. The Vlachs who were subjected to the influence of the former turned into Moldovans, while those influenced by the latter became Romanians. That, according to Senkevich, was not the only explanation for such differences. Inspired by the "classics of Marxism-Leninism," he preferred to explain them through the distinct political, economic, and geographical

336 Of Moldovan origin, at the time, Senkevich was one of the most important representatives of Moldovan historiography. Senkevich began his career as a propagandist. In 1926, at the age of twenty-one he became a member of the Communist Party. The same year, he was sent to the School of Activists of the Party in Odessa where he took a course in pedagogy, following which he worked as a high school teacher. In 1938 he obtained his diploma as a professor of history at the Pedagogical Institute—the first higher education institution of the RASSM founded in 1930. In 1940 he became director of the Moldovan Institute of History, Language and Literature, a position he held until 1947. Konstantin Zubku, "Senkevich, Vasilii Markovich," in *Enchiklopedia Sovietike Moldoveniaskė*. T. 6, ed., I. Vartichan (Kishinev: Redaktsiia Princhipale a Enchiklopedia Sovietike Moldoveniaskė, 1976), 112.

337 He was apparently the author of an annex attached to the letter addressed to Stalin, which dealt with the history of the borders of the former Moldavian Principality. Cașu, "*Politica națională*", 51–52.

338 Udal'tsov and Cherepnin, ed., *Istoriia Moldavii*, 5.

339 Artiom Lazarev, "Kum a fost skrisė istoriia Moldovei," *Nistru* 2 (1989): 126–137.

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contexts in which the two branches of the Vlachs lived. According to Senkevich, the appearance of the Moldavian Principality constituted the final and crucial stage in the ethnogenesis of the Moldovans, thus suggesting that the Romanian ethnogenesis was finalized at the moment Wallachia emerged as a medieval state.[340]

Senkevich's interpretation remained unchanged until 1959, when a small pamphlet, published on the occasion of the 600th anniversary of the Moldavian Principality, marked the beginning of its re-evaluation. The author of that undertaking was Nikolaĭ Mokhov, who, starting with this pamphlet and almost until his death in 1983 remained the main historian of the Moldovan ethnogenesis. Mokhov, who until 1945 had spent his life away from the MSSR, had no soft spot for Moldovan identity like Senkevich.[341] He was completely indifferent to the fact that two former regions of Bessarabia had been attached to the neighboring republic.

Mokhov did not adopt the position of Ukrainian historians, but he was the one who reintroduced the Slavic tribes as effective participants in the ethnogenesis of Moldovans.[342] According to him, the Slavic components of the Moldovan language should be seen as a "legacy" of the Slavic ancestors and not as an "external" influence, received by the Romanized population from their Slavic neighbors. The Vlachs, who were also present in his narrative, were not

340 Senkevich, "Obrazovanie," 71–89; Vasiliĭ M. Senkevich, "Istoki Moldavskoĭ kul'tury i ee razvitie v XIV–XV st.," *Uchenye zapiski, Gumanitarnye nauki* 2 (1950): 28; Vasiliĭ M. Senkevich, "K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii Moldavskoĭ narodnosti v svete ucheniia I.V. Stalina o iazyke," *Uchenye Zapiski. Kishinevskii Gosudarstvennyi Universitet* 6 (1953): 63–78.

341 Mokhov was born in 1904 in a village in the Krasnodar region of southern Russia, on the border with Georgia. He studied at the University of Leningrad. At the age of twenty-two, he began to work in the educational system of the Russian Republic. Just before the beginning of his Moldovan activity, he was a researcher and teacher at the University of Leningrad. He was sent to the MSSR in 1945. For a short period, he taught history at the Pedagogical Institute of the Moldovan capital. In 1946 he became chair of World History at the State University, and in 1947—head of the history section of the Institute of History, Language and Literature. Until 1983, the year of his death, he was one of the most important figures of the official historiography of the MSSR. Meurs, *Chestiunea*, 207–208; Kirill V. Stratievskiĭ, "Slovo ob uchenom-gumaniste," *Stratum plus* 6 (2005): 11–14.

342 The idea of the Slavic Moldovans was abandoned by Ukrainian historians in the mid-1950s. In a synthesis of history devoted to the Ukrainian Republic, published under the aegis of the Academy of that republic, only three ethnic groups are mentioned that developed from the Slavic tribes of the east: The Ukrainians, the Russians, and the Byelorussians. Aleksandr K. Kasimenko and al., ed., *Istoriia Ukrainskoi SSSR*. T. 1 (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1956), 150.

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a Romance-speaking population subjected to Slavic influence, but the very product of the ethnic mixture of Slavs and the Daco-Romans.[343]

In his pamphlet, Mokhov gave no details on the transformation of Vlachs into Moldavians. He only suggested that in the medieval period the Vlachs turned into Moldovans on the territory of the Moldavian Principality, and into Wallachians in Wallachia.[344] Through that, Mokhov also suggested that in the Middle Ages, there were no Romanians, as an ethnic group. According to him, Romanians as a nation did not appear before the creation of modern Romania through the union in 1859 of Wallachia with what had been left of the former Moldavian Principality, after the occupation of Bessarabia by Russia and of Northern Bukovina by the Habsburgs.[345] The coexistence of Moldavians and Wallachians within the new state resulted in the "fusion" of those two ethnic groups into a single Romanian nation.[346]

It should be noted that after the publication of the first synthesis of history of the MSSR and until the late 1960s, there was a certain decline of interest in the ethnogenesis of the Moldovans, at least from the official historiography. That is why, in this period, Mokhov's explanation was not very developed, and could easily be altered and adapted by Fedorov.

However, around 1970, the need to respond to "foreign" historians questioning the existence of a Moldovan ethnic group and minimizing the contribution of the Slavs to the history of the region, prompted a further development of Mokhov's theory about the Moldovan. Mokhov, like Senkevich, maintained

343 Mokhov, *Formirovaniia* (1959), 19–20.

344 Mokhov, *Formirovaniia* (1959), 19.

345 In Soviet historiography and ethnology in general, and in Moldova, in particular, the distinction between such terms as "ethnic groups," "peoples" or "nations" was rather vague. According to Stalin, "the nation is a stable, historically constituted community of a language, a territory, an economic life and a psychical formation, which is translated into a community of culture." Iosif V. Stalin, *Sochineniia*. T. 2 (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoi Literatury, 1954), 296. Some authors, inspired by that definition, suggested that the meaning of the term "ethnic group" is almost the same as that of "nation," but the former term should be used for human communities of slave-based mode of production and of feudalism, while the latter is reserved for those of the capitalist formation. "Nations" were also perceived as more "stable" communities than the "ethnic groups." Aleksandr D. Udal'tsov, "Teoreticheskie osnovy etnogeneticheskikh issledovanii," *Uchenye zapiski. Moldavskaia Nauchno-issledovatel'skaia Baza Akademii Nauk SSSR* 1 (1948): 9–10. According to Senkevich, all the characteristics of a "nation" were also present in "ethnic groups", except that with the latter they were "embryonic." Senkevich, "K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii," 77–78. Roughly the same differences between the terms "ethnicity" ("narodnost" in Russian) and "nation" were suggested by Mokhov. Mokhov, *Formirovaniia* (1959), 6–7; Mokhov, *Ocherki istorii formirovaniia*, 5–6.

346 Mokhov, *Formirovaniia* (1959), 39.

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that the Moldovans had come into being after a part of the Vlach tribes received a cultural influence from the Eastern Slavs and after the appearance of the Moldavian medieval state.[347] He also spoke of two other factors that determined the ethnic individuality of the Moldovans: the existence of a Moldavian ethnic consciousness in the Middle Ages, and the presence of a "strong aspiration" of the Moldovan people for friendship with the Russian and Ukrainian people.[348] Similarly, the influence of the Southern Slavs on another part of the Vlach tribes and the appearance of Wallachia contributed to the appearance of the Wallachian ethnic group. The unification in 1859 of Wallachia with what remained of the former Moldavia contributed to the disappearance among the Moldavians and the Wallachians of the consciousness of their belonging to different ethnic groups. The structures of the new Romanian state, the education, the press, the laws, the administration, and the customs contributed to the emergence of a common Romanian identity. It is only the population of Bessarabia that preserved and developed a Moldovan ethnic consciousness because of its isolation from everything that was happening in the neighboring new state, and because of its integration into the economic and cultural Russian and Ukrainian milieu.[349] This view is eerily close to what now would pass for a constructivist perspective, but unlike the constructivist approach that sees an ethnic group or a nation as a modern construction, Mokhov spoke in terms of an entity that had begun to form since the Antiquity.[350]

347 Mokhov, *Ocherki istorii formirovaniia*, 91–92 and 104–105.

348 The idea that the consciousness of belonging to an ethnic group is one of the latter's defining elements emerged in the context of debates taking place in the late 1960s and early 1970s amongst Soviet ethnographers. That idea was put forward by Iulian Bromleĭ, one of the most important Soviet ethnographers of the time. That is why, in his early works, Mokhov made no mention of a "Moldovan ethnic conscience." It should also be noted that Mokhov was neither the first nor the last Moldovan author to take advantage of that idea. Before him, it appears in the works of the Moldovan ethnographer Valentin Zelenchuk. Iulian V. Bromleĭ "K kharakteristike poniatiia « ėtnos »," *Rasy i narody* 1 (1971): 9–33; Iulian V. Bromleĭ, "Opyt tipologizatsii ėtnicheskikh obshchnostei," *Sovetskaia ėtnografiia* 5 (1972): 61–81; Iulian V. Bromleĭ, *Ėtnos i ėtnografiia* (Moscow: Nauka, 1973); Iulian V. Bromleĭ, *Ocherki teorii ėtnosa* (Moscow: Nauka, 1983); Valentin Zelenchuk, "K voprosu o kharakternykh chertakh Moldavskoĭ ėtnicheskoi obshchnosti," *Kommunist Moldavii* 10 (1972): 29–36; Valentin L. Ianin and al., ed., *Istoriia Moldavskoĭ SSR*. T. 1 (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1987), 16, 329–338; Mokhov, *Ocherki istorii formirovaniia*, 111–112, 113 and 116.

349 Mokhov, *Ocherki istorii formirovaniia*, 116–119.

350 Eric J. Hobsbawn, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Thiesse, *La création*; Philippe Poutignat and Joceline Streiff-Fenart, *Théories de l'ethnicité suivi de Les groupes ethniques et leurs frontières par Fredrik Barth* (Paris: PUF, 2008); Mokhov, *Formirovaniia* (1959); Mokhov, *Formirovaniia* (1969); Mokhov, *Ocherki istorii formirovaniia*; Nikolaĭ A. Mokhov and al., "U

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Fedorov's Point of View

At the beginning of his Moldovan experience, Fedorov said that the question of the contribution of the Slavs to the genesis of Moldovans, their culture, and the emergence of the Moldavian medieval principality constituted a priority for his research.[351] In the 1950s and 1960s, this statement was reiterated several times without, however, leading to more important results than some of the rather general remarks made in some of his articles.[352] Like Mokhov, Fedorov regarded the Vlachs as the result of the mixture of a Romanized population of Getae and Dacians with the ancient Slavs. At a time when the interest of the ideological forums in the MSSR in the Moldovan ethnogenesis diminished, and therefore some freedom appeared in its treatment, Fedorov proposed a special variant to Mokhov's theory. Thus, under the name of Moldovans Fedorov understood only the population of the MSSR. The distinction between Moldovans and Romanians consisted in the Slavic component which he saw as more pronounced for the former. According to Fedorov, that component had been added since the fourteenth century, when a part of the Vlachs arrived on the territory of the future MSSR, where they met the Tivertsy. The latter were therefore the last component of the Moldovan ethnogenesis but also the main element that differentiated Moldovans from Romanians.[353]

Concerning the contribution of the Slavs to the genesis of Moldovan culture, his very short reflections were rather incoherent. In some of his articles published in the early years of his research in the MSSR, he argued that the material culture of the Tivertsy had been adopted "creatively" by the Vlachs, while in others that "archaeological means for the resolution of this question are still in insufficient."[354] It is interesting to note that in an article that Fedorov signed with the Moscow ethnographer Mira Salmanovich, and which appeared on the occasion of the Seventh International Congress of Anthropology and Ethnography, held in Moscow in 1964, there was a strong emphasis on the similarities

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istokov proiskhozhdeniia moldavskogo naroda (ėtnogenez moldovan i slaviane)." *Sovetskaia Moldaviia*, April 4, 1976.

351 Fedorov, "Slaviane Podnestrov'ia (K itogam rabot slaviano-dnestrovskoĭ ėkspeditsii v 1951 godu)," 100.

352 Fedorov, "Itogi rabot v oblasti slavianskoĭ arkheologii," 8; Fedorov, "Slavianskie gorodishcha v Moldavii," 51; Fedorov, "Itogi i zadachi izucheniia drevneslavianskoĭ kul'tury," 30–31.

353 Fedorov, "Itogi i zadachi izucheniia drevneslavianskoĭ kul'tury," 30–31; Fedorov, *Drevnie Slaviane v Prutsko-Dnestrovskom*, 23–24.

354 Fedorov, "Slavianskie gorodishcha v Moldavii," 46; Fedorov, "Itogi trekhletnikh rabot," 23; Fedorov, "Itogi rabot v oblasti slavianskoĭ arkheologii," 8; Fedorov, "Slaviane Podnestrov'ia," 153.

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of material and spiritual cultures of the Slavic and "neo-Latin" peoples of Eastern Europe, namely the Moldovans and the Romanians. Such similarities could be observed in the building of houses, the evolution of agricultural implements, the traditional dress, and the rituals "connected with the different events in human life." Those similarities could only be explained through a common cultural basis—the civilization of the ancient Thracians, who spread over a large area in the Balkans as well as in Central and Eastern Europe.[355] We do not know how to explain this thesis which basically contradicted the Slavic contribution to the genesis of Moldovan culture.[356] But, in future articles published immediately after, signed by Fedorov alone or with Salmanovich, the idea in question was no longer present.[357] The central thesis of those articles was that even to this day, "all parts" of the material and spiritual culture of the Moldovans contained "considerable and brilliant Slavic elements."[358]

Fedorov dealt only in passing with the contribution of the Slavs to the creation of the Moldavian medieval state. In his opinion, the Slavs, or rather the medieval Russians, had a substantial role. Such remarks were not based on archaeological data, but were rather summaries of reading notes made on book of history and linguistics. That is why none of those arguments was new: the presence on the territory of the MSSR of place names of Slavic origin, the abundance of Slavic loans in the language spoken by the Moldovans, the use of Slavonic in medieval Moldavia. These arguments were also invoked in support of the idea that the Slavs participated in the genesis of Moldovans and their culture.[359]

A possible explanation for Fedorov's lack of interest in this may be that all his energy was directed first and foremost to the issue of the Tivertsy. It should not be forgotten that Fedorov came to the MSSR in search for that tribe. Regarding the ethnogenesis of the Moldovans and the emergence of their state, we could invoke another reason. Those topics, both very important from an ideological

355 Fedorov and Salmanovich, *Ėtnicheskaia i kul'turnaia istoriia*, 2–11.

356 In this article the idea that the Slavs had a major contribution to the creation of Moldovan culture was present, but it was not something that the two authors insisted on. Fedorov and Salmanovich, *Ėtnicheskaia i kul'turnaia istoriia*, 4.

357 Fedorov, "Itogi i zadachi izucheniia drevneslavianskoĭ kul'tury," 21–31; Fedorov, *Drevnie Slaviane v Prutsko-Dnestrovskom*; Fedorov and Salmanovich, "Ėtnokul'turnye kompleksy," 55–65.

358 Fedorov, "Itogi i zadachi izucheniia drevneslavianskoĭ kul'tury," 29–31; Fedorov, *Drevnie Slaviane v Prutsko-Dnestrovskom*, 23–24; Fedorov and Salmanovich, "Ėtnokul'turnye kompleksy," 55–65.

359 Fedorov also invoked Simion Dascălul's account. Fedorov, "Rabota slaviano-dnestrovskoĭ," 91–92; Fedorov, "Slaviane Podnestrov'ia," 153; Fedorov, "Slavianskie gorodishcha v Moldavii," 50; Fedorov, "Itogi trekhletnikh rabot," 22–23.

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point of view, were monopolized, at least by the late 1950s, by Nikolaĭ Mokhov, who was, as mentioned, one of the most important historians in the MSSR. It is not excluded that those subjects were entrusted to him by the Party's ideological fora. It was not until the 1970s that those subjects were brought back to the forefront, and other representatives of the local and central historiography joined Mokhov. Fedorov was not among them, because since the early 1970 he had caught the attention of the KGB, and in 1975 his annual expeditions to the MSSR ended.

It should be noted, however, that in 1999 the archaeological journal of Moldova, *Stratum Plus*, published a sixty-page study entitled "The ethnogenesis of the Vlachs, the ancestors of the Moldovans, according to archaeological and historiographical data." A good deal of the study is in fact a critique of the Romanian archaeology which, according to its author, had minimized, ever since the 1960s, the Slavic contribution to the history of the territory of Romania.[360] The author of the study also slipped some ideas concerning the ethnogenesis of the Moldovans and the Romanians. His opinion is very similar to that of Mokhov, although he was less consistent about the existence in the medieval period of a Wallachian ethnic group. Sometimes he wrote about Wallachians, sometimes about Romanians.[361]

According to the journal, this study is a monograph written by Fedorov in the early 1980s, which "for reasons not of scientific origin," could not be published for a long time.[362] However, according to the Moldovan archaeologist Gheorghe Postică, the study in question is not Fedorov's, but the PhD dissertation of one of his students, Vera Negruşa, who had to abandon archaeology because of health problems.[363]

Conclusions

I have analyzed in this chapter the activity of the Moscow archaeologist Georgiĭ Fedorov, a central figure in the medieval archaeology of the MSSR. He is the one who set up the Slavic archaeology in the MSSR, and was a member of the first generation of medieval archaeologists of the republic. In the first of the five parts of this chapter, I drew the portrait of the intellectual

360 Georgiĭ B. Fedorov, "Ėtnogenez volokhov, predkov Moldavan, po dannym arkheologii (istoriograficheskii aspekt)," *Stratum plus* 5 (1999): 14–74.

361 Fedorov, "Ėtnogenez volokhov," 15, 64 and 71.

362 Redaktsiia, "[Untitled text]," *Stratum plus* 5 (1999): 14.

363 Gheorghe Postică claims to have read this thesis. He shared this information with us in 2010.

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Fedorov. I have shown that apart from archaeology, Fedorov wrote fiction. In the intimacy of his home, he was known for his anti-Stalinist attitude and his sympathy for dissidents. The Stalinist repression to which some of his professors at the University of Moscow fell victim during the second half of the 1930s, the anti-Stalinist confession of his professor Artemiĭ Artsikhovskiĭ in 1938, his own traumatic experience during his military service in Lithuania in 1940, a country which had just been annexed to the USSR, as well as the forbidden literature that he had the opportunity to consult in this new Soviet republic—all that contributed to the creation of his sociopolitical profile. In spite of all those developments, in the public sphere, especially during the Stalinist era, Fedorov behaved like so many Soviet intellectuals in a completely conformist manner. I have noted that at the beginning of their careers many young researchers showed their zeal towards the Party, thus facilitating their access to the professional "field" of their specialization. In that part, I have also attempted to define Fedorov's attitude towards Russian nationalism and pan-Slavism. I have identified traces of both ideologies, especially in his historical novel, *The Cross of Ignat*, but in my opinion, Fedorov was not a fervent advocate of any one of them.

In the second part, I have identified Fedorov's the scientific profile, the conditions under which he was trained as an archaeologist, and the reason for which he specialized in Slavic archaeology. I have noted that his choice for archaeology was based on the belief that that field of study was apolitical. Conversely, the choice of the Slavic problem was determined by the ideological climate of the time, the revival of Russian nationalist ideology and of pan-Slavism, but also by the special relationship he had with the archaeology Professor Artsikhovskiĭ, who specialized in the same field. Fedorov's professional training was due mainly to that archaeologist. I have also shown that Fedorov drafted his candidate thesis under the supervision of Rybakov, who would lead Soviet archaeology for the next decades. Rybakov's anti-Semitism caused his relations with Fedorov to deteriorate rapidly. For Fedorov, the Jewish question was very sensitive; his wife and many of his friends were of Jewish origin. Rybakov was the one who contributed, alongside the KGB, to the end of Fedorov's Moldovan expeditions. In that part, I also looked at the Fedorov's professional skills. Thus, I noticed certain deficiencies in his work, but noted that this did not make him a particular case, as such deficiencies were typical of a large part of the Soviet archaeologists. I have also established that it would be unfair to assert that Fedorov's ethnic interpretations were made solely from "ceramic debris found on the surface of the soil." From the theoretical point of view, these interpretations were guided by the retrospective method and by analogies.

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In the third part, I tried to understand the reasons for which Fedorov chose the MSSR as his archaeological "fief." I have noted that he came to the MSSR to look for traces of the Tivertsy, a tribe mentioned in the Russian Primary Chronicle. The ideological context of the time, which favored the study of the Slavic problem, led to the acceptance of the project by the central academic bureaucracy and was well received by local Moldovan authorities. The fact that the problem of the Tivertsy was still poorly studied, and the failure of the MSSR to attract other Slavic archaeologists made it so that it became Fedorov's archaeological "fief." I have noted that Fedorov's stay in the MSSR was quite pleasant; his good social connections had an important role in the perpetuation of his Moldovan project for 25 years. In the MSSR, far from the country's archaeological elite, and his Moscow superiors, he probably felt he had a lot more freedom.

The criteria used by Fedorov in the selection of his students, their presentation, and the character of their collaborations, were subjects that I discussed in the fourth section. Due to the Soviet policy of "national cadres," from the beginning of Fedorov's archaeological campaigns in the MSSR, many of his collaborators were students of local, Moldovan origin. The presence in his team of Moldovan ethnic groups also had a pragmatic connotation, especially at the outset, because his expeditions took place in the rural environment, where most inhabitants did not speak Russian. I have also shown that, in Fedorov's eyes, the students' desire to pursue an archaeological career, and the demonstration of their ability to pursue such specialization, were probably equally important. For that reason, the contingent of his students was composed of two Moldovans, two Jews, and even a student who declared himself Romanian. The archaeologists Gheorghe Cebotarenco, Pavel Bîrnea, Lazar' Polevoĭ, Isak Rafalovich, and Ion Hîncu, all drafted their candidate thesis under Fedorov's supervision. With some of them, he collaborated even after his removal from the archaeological research in the MSSR.

In the fifth part, I have analyzed and explained the opinions of Fedorov on the main subjects that made up the field of Slavic archaeology of the MSSR. I pointed out that archaeologist Fedorov proved himself a typical conformist throughout his career, even after the end of the Stalinist era. His reflections on the problem of Slavic archaeology were entirely in line with the state propaganda, which promoted a discourse inspired by Russian nationalist mythology. With the beginning of the "Khrushchev Thaw," Fedorov changed some of his opinions (e.g., some archaeological remains that he had previously declared as undoubtedly Slavic were now reinterpreted), but as a whole, his views remained within the boundaries of the official historiography. For Fedorov, as for many Soviet scholars, conformism was not just a strategy for obtaining a

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respectable position in a specific field, but also one to hold on to that position. Conformism was therefore a strategy for professional survival, which also meant economic and social advantages. But Fedorov's views on the Slavic problem cannot be explained just in terms of conformity. The retreat of the critical mind, due to ideological moldings, purges, and persecutions, also influenced his professional activity. I have noted his tendency to lower his critical thinking, especially in the face of respectable peers. The Russian nationalist discourse resurrected in the period during which Fedorov was formed as an archaeologist and certainly influenced his scholarly gaze. No doubt, the retrospective method that was in vogue at the time, analogies, some archaeological "contexts," as well as some written sources—all contributed to the configuration of his ethnic interpretations. To say that Fedorov's opinions were "pure falsifications of the Moldovan archaeological reality," made for the sole purpose of justifying the annexation of Bessarabia by the USSR, is to ignore the complexity of the intellectual and scholarly world in which Fedorov lived.

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CHAPTER 3

The Indigenous Character of the Moldovans, a Singular View

Introduction

According to some Moldovan historians, Hîncu was the only archaeologist who, during the Soviet period, dared to hold a completely different opinion about the Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages on the territory of the MSSR. In particular, he tried to promote the idea that the Moldovans were native to the territory of their republic. It was in this context, according to some authors, that he was criticized for having minimized the role of the Slavic tribes in the history of that territory, and stood accused of nationalism. This then led to his dismissal from the post of head of the archaeological department of the Academy of Sciences of the MSSR, a position Hîncu held from 1975 to 1977, as well as to his removal from archaeological research altogether.[1] Other writers suggested that his effort to promote the idea of Moldovan autochthony was part of a new ideological directive issued by senior Party leaders. According to such views, Hîncu's was dismissed because of the "rectification" of that directive. Hîncu's career ended because of the concerted opposition of some of his colleagues whom he had pressured to comply with his point of view.[2]

However, it is impossible to understand Hîncu's point of view, as well as the official Soviet archaeological discourse between the 1960s and the 1980s in relation to the Slavic problem without understanding what was happening at the same time in Romanian archaeology. In the first of the four parts that make up this chapter, I will get therefore dwell on the Romanian archaeology, as it developed after the Second World War, when Romania became a satellite of the USSR. I will focus on such issues as the institutionalization or rather re-institutionalization of Romanian archaeology, and I will review the attempts of its Marxization and Marrisation. I will also be looking at the increased interest of Romanian archaeologists in the Slavic problem, emphasizing their views

1 Negru, "Etnogeneza românilor," 57; Pavel F. Paraska, "Monopol asupra istoriei," *Nistru. Reviste literare shi sochial-politike a Uniunii Skriitorilor din RSSM* 11 (1988): 124–126; Postică, ed., *Ion Hâncu*, 6–10; Gheorghe Postică, "Personalitatea arheologului Ion Hîncu," in *Scara vieţei* by Ion Hîncu, ed., Gheorghe Postică (Kishinev: Cartdidact, 2016), 10–12; Ţurcanu, *Istoricitatea*, 69.

2 Polevoĭ, "Kuda"; Tkachuk, "Spor ili igra,"; Tkachuk, "Georgiĭ Borisovich," 10–11.

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on the question of the appearance of the Slavs and the "Romanized population" or the "proto-Romanians" on the territory of historical Moldavia. This part will begin with a short history of Romanian-Russian and Romanian-Soviet relations.

In the second part, I will provide an overview of the nature of the relations between Romanian and Moldovan Soviet archaeologists. In the third part, in order to situate Ion Hîncu's point of view, I will analyze the main tendencies in the study of Slavs and Vlachs in Moldovan Soviet archaeology from 1960 to 1980. I will focus on the opinions expressed by Ion Hîncu's colleagues, many of whom, like him, were former students of Georgiĭ Fedorov. Fedorov had all the reasons to be proud of the professional level of his former students, since some of them introduced new approaches, even though their publications were also branded sometimes as of low scientific quality.[3] For example, Lazar' Polevoĭ used statistics, until then never applied in the archaeology of the Middle Ages in the MSSR, in his *Study on the Historical Geography of Moldavia from the Thirteenth to Fourteenth Centuries*.[4] The use of a large number of written and archaeological sources, as well as an impressive and relevant bibliography, testified to the quality of the archaeological research in Soviet Moldova. This is

3 Since the 1960s, archaeologists from the MSSR were responsible for rescue excavations ("khozdogovory" in Russian) in addition to systematic excavations on sites related to their respective specialties, on which they sometimes spent up to nine months a year. Obviously, this had an impact on the quality of their publications. Historians and ethnographers began therefore to accuse archaeologists of collecting artefacts rather than processing and, above all, interpreting them. In their opinion, the publications of those archaeologists were more descriptive than analytical. Archaeologists, on the other hand, complained that rescue excavations, in such great numbers, left little to no time interpretation. Some even suggested that more experienced archaeologists should stay in their offices and devote themselves to interpretation, while younger archaeologists should do field work. Others advanced the idea of creating within the archaeological section a group of archaeologists specializing in rescue excavations. Such a group was definitely in place by 1977. "Protokol № 8 zasedaniia Uchenogo soveta Instituta Istorii An MSSR ot 2 iulia 1968 g.," in *Protokoly zasedanii Uchenogo soveta Instituta Istorii za 1968 god.* (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 80, 1968); *Protokoly zasedanii Uchenogo soveta Instituta istorii za 1973 goda.* (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis 1, Nr. 121); "Protokol № 12 zasedaniia Uchenogo soveta Instituta istorii AN MSSR ot 19 noiabria 1974 g.," in *Protokoly zasedanii Uchenogo soveta Instituta za 1974 g.* (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis 1, Nr. 131, 1974); Boris K. Vizer, "Prezidentu Akademii nauk Moldavskoĭ SSR akademiku Ia.S. Grosulu (13.XI.74)," in *Perepiska s akademicheskimi i neakademicheskimi uchrezhdeniiami za 1974 g.* (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis 1, Nr. 135, 1974); "Protokol № 25 zasedaniia sektora arkheologii i drevneĭ istorii Moldavii Instituta istorii AN MSSR ot 24 noiabria 1977 g.," in *Protokoly zasedanii sektora arkheologii i drevneĭ istorii Instituta istorii AN MSSR, 1977.* (AAȘRM. Fond 24, Opis 1, Nr. 3, 1977).

4 Polevoĭ, *Ocherki*.

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also true for Ion Hîncu's *Traditional Moldovan Ceramics*.[5] In that book, which would now be described as an ethnoarchaeological monograph, Hîncu drew heavily on ethnographic parallels, in an attempt to establish a methodology and a terminology for the description and study of pottery. The book also contains a catalogue of the so-called centers of ceramic production that were still operating from the 1940 to the 1960s, as well as a description, which may still be useful today, of production technology. However, the works of this new generation of archaeologists did not escape political pressure. The historical or ethnic interpretations that they proposed were ultimately a function of the dispute between Soviet and Romanian historians, itself a reflection of the growing tensions between the two states. In 1970, a committee headed by historian Nikolaĭ Mokhov was created as part of the MSSR Academy of Sciences. The declared purpose of that committee was the study of "the origin of the Moldovans and Slavo-Vlach relations," but everything indicates that it was all a response to the claims of Romanian historiography.[6] I will show that the archaeological works published under the aegis of the committee directly reflected its goals.

Ion Hîncu's view will be analyzed in the last part of this chapter. I will begin by presenting his position. Then, I will verify the idea of his minimizing the role of the Slavs in the history of the MSSR, and whether his opinion was determined by the theoretical framework of his working environment, by his adherence to the national paradigm, or if he simply complied with a political directive, as some have suggested. We will also try to explain why most of his peers did not support him in his quest, and we will finally shed light on his removal from the position of head of the archaeological section of the MSSR Academy of Sciences, as well as his removal from archaeological research.

1 Romanian Archaeology and the Slavic Question

1.1 *From Protector of the Orthodox Faith to the "Big Sister": An Overview of the Romanian-Russian and Romanian-Soviet Relations*

Until the mid-nineteenth century, the elites of Walachian and Moldavian Principalities, two states under Ottoman suzerainty since the fifteenth and sixteenth century, respectively regarded the Russian Empire as a Christian power ready to come to their defense against "Turkish infidels." Between the

5 [Ion Hîncu] Ivan G. Khynku, *Moldavskaia narodnaia keramika* (Kishinev: Kartia moldoveniaskė, 1969).

6 Zelenchuk and Zlatkovskaia, "O rabote," 123–130; Spataru, "O VIII sessii," 78–83; Muntian, "Istoki," 94–96.

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late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century, Russia—now under a considerable Western influence largely due to Peter the Great, had a great role in the introduction of the French culture into Moldavia and Wallachia. Members of the Russian administration and officers of the Tsarist army, who were fluent in French and were, like all Russian aristocrats, promoters of the "French manners," were the first to expose Romanian elites to French culture during the Russian-Turkish wars which were often fought in or next to the two Principalities.[7] Moreover, when the two Principalities were occupied by Russian troops, and a new administration was established between 1829–1834 in Wallachia and Moldavia, modernization of the state, the infrastructure, and the main institutions was also associated with Russia. The new "constitution" of the two principalities, known as the *Organic Regulations*, for the first time introduced the principle of the separation of powers in the state.[8] Mihail Kogălniceanu (1817–1891), a prominent personality of Romanian culture and political life, rightly noted in 1837 that Russia was the greatest benefactor of Romanians, reinstating them "among nations," and giving them "the little civilization" that they now possessed.[9]

It is important to note that, initially, Russia was in favor of the idea of the union of the two principalities, which was indeed accomplished in 1859 when the Moldovan and Wallachian boyars chose the same person, the Moldovan officer Alexandru Ioan Cuza, as ruler of both principalities.[10] In addition, following the Russian-Turkish War of 1877–1878, in which the Romanian army participated, the new country gained its independence from the Ottoman Empire. However, by the mid-twentieth century, the Romanian image about Russia had fundamentally changed. The Romanian elites increasingly manifested their pro-Occidental orientations, largely under the influence of the liberal ideology that promoted, among other things, the ideas of individual liberty, equality of individuals under the law, constitutional government, and the like. Obviously, those ideas were in contrast with the conservative political outlook of the Russian empire. Moreover, in 1848, the Russian army intervened brutally to put an end to the revolutionary liberal movement in Moldavia and Walachia. Also, the nationalist ideal made Romanians pay increasing attention to Bessarabia,

7 Pompiliu Eliade, *De l'influence française sur l'esprit public en Roumanie. Les origines. Étude sur l'État de la société roumaine à l'époque des règnes phanariotes* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, Libraire-Éditeur, 1898), 172–192.

8 Keith Hitchins, *Scurtă istorie a României*, trans. Lucia Popovici (Bucharest: Polirom, 2015), 98–102.

9 Mihail Kogălniceanu, *Histoire de la Valachie et de la Moldavie*. T. 1 (Berlin: Librairie de B. Behr, 1837), 403.

10 Mihai D. Sturdza, *Românii între frica de Rusia și dragostea de Franța* (Bucharest: Editura Roza vântutilor, 2006), 21.

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a territory they considered to have be unjustly taken from them by Russia.[11] By 1878, the Romanian poet Mihail Eminescu had a view of Russia that was radically different from Kogălniceanu's. To him, "Russia is the mother of pride and lack of culture, fanaticism and despotism." According to Eminescu, Russia's so-called "historical missions" in favor of Christians under Ottoman rule "only served as a disguise for the desire to conquer new territories."[12]

Despite mutual dissatisfaction and suspicion, the countries were allies in the First World War. The Russian linguist Alekseĭ Sobolevskiĭ delivered a speech in 1916 (the year of Romania's entry into the war), on the occasion of a solemn meeting of the Russian Academy. In that speech, he expressed hopes that "the current rapprochement" between Romanians and Russians would make it so that "the educated Romanian looking towards Moscow would easily notice not only a lot of beauty and attraction, but also something native."[13] Sobolevskiĭ's hopes remained unfulfilled. The "educated Romanians," or most of them, found nothing "native" in Moscow, especially not after "the Great October" and the revitalization of the Bessarabian question. Indeed, between the two world wars, Bessarabia became the bone of contention between Romania and the Soviet Union. The USSR never recognized the Romanian rights to that province.[14]

The Soviet army entering the territory of Romania in 1944 opened a new phase in the history of Romanian-Soviet relations. In fact, that turned Romania into a vassal of the USSR that remained quiet and docile until the late 1950s. During tats period, the issue of Bessarabia disappeared from the political agenda of the elites of the new People's Republic proclaimed in 1947. These elites had no objection, at least officially, to the Soviet theory about the existence of a Moldovan ethnicity or nation in the MSSR, which was supposedly distinct from the Romanian nation or ethnicity.[15]

In any case, during the second half of the 1950s, Soviet authorities seemed to be fully convinced of Romania's loyalty. Perhaps that is why an unprecedented rapprochement between the MSSR and Romania was allowed. Several Romanian delegations visited the MSSR during this period, and several cooperation

11 Andreĭ Kushko and Viktor Taki, *Bessarabia v sostave Rossiiskoi imperii 1812–1917* (Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2012), 234–260; Lucian Boia, *Istorie și mit în conștiința românească* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 1997), 185–186; Sturdza *Românii*, 21–64.

12 Mihail Eminescu, *Scrieri politice* (Norcross: Criterion Publiching, 2000), 197–198.

13 Alekseĭ I. Sobolevskiĭ, *Rumyny sredi slavianskikh' narodov'. Rech' akademika A.I. Sobolevskago v' torzhestvennom' godovom' sobranii Akademii 29 dekabria 1916 goda* (Saint Petersburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk', 1917), 16.

14 King, *The Moldovans*, 36–41.

15 Pavel Țugui, *Istoria și limba română în vremea lui Gherghiu-Dej. Memoriile unui șef de Secție a CC al PMR* (Bucharest: Editura Ion Cristoiu, 1999), 215–223.

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agreements were signed in the field of education, research, and culture. Romanian theaters and ensembles played in front of the public in the MSSR. Citizens of the MSSR had the right to subscribe to Romanian magazines and the opportunity to buy books published in Romania. Romanian Cultural Days were organized in 1958, and included several exhibitions of painting and sculpture, presentations of Romanian literature and films. In turn, Romania received the visit of several delegations, theaters, and exhibitions from the MSSR.[16]

However, starting with the second half of the 1950s, Bucharest gradually rehabilitated the nationalist discourse and began to pursue an increasingly independent policy towards the USSR, at least in public declarations. Such a change of attitude became even more prominent in the following decades. During meetings with his Soviet counterpart, Nicolae Ceaușescu, the Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party, brought up the issue of Bessarabia, and raised questions about the idea of a Moldovan ethnicity and identity, which was allegedly distinct from the Romanian nation or ethnicity.[17] Such questions coming from Bucharest hit a nerve in Moscow. In the ensuing confrontation, party leaders harnessed not only ideological arguments and propaganda, but historiography as well, along with secret services. Nonetheless, the confrontation never degenerated into diplomatic war; Romania and the Soviet Union remaining "friends and sisters."[18]

1.2 *Institutional Reorganization and the Logistics of Romanian Archaeology*

During the first decades of the twentieth century, institutions based in Bucharest, such as the National Museum of Antiquities and the Commission on Historical Monuments, disputed their right to control the archaeological activity on the territory of Romania.[19] In the second half of the 1940s, the National

16 Artiom M. Lazarev, "Relatsiile kulturale dintre RSS Moldoveniaskė shi RPR yn anii de dupė rezboi," in *Prieteniia de viakur'. Materialele sesiei shtiintsifice a Institutului de Istorie a Filialei Moldovenesht' a Akademiei de shtiintse din Uniunia RSS* (*27–29 noembrie 1958*), ed., Iakim S. Grosul and Nikolaĭ A. Mokhov (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1961), 164–173.

17 Gheorghe Negru, "Disputa dintre URSS și RSR privind tratarea istoriei relațiilor ruso-și sovieto-române," *Destin Românesc*, 5/3–4 (2010): 201–203.

18 Cezar Stanciu, *Războiul nervilor. Dispute Ceaușescu-Brejnev 1965–1971* (Târgoviște: Editura „Cetatea de Scaun", 2011); King, *The Moldovans*, 103–106.

19 Several parts of this section were incorporated into an article published in 2015 in the journal *Archaeologia Bulgarica*. A Romanian version of the article was then published in 2016 and *Archiva Moldaviae*. Iurie Stamati, "Two chapters of the Sovietization of the Romanian archaeology (from the late 1940s to the mid-1950s)," *Archaeologia Bulgarica* 19/1 (2015): 81–95; Iurie Stamati, "Încercări de sovietizare a arheologiei românești (sfârșitul anilor 40–mijlocul anilor 50 ai secolului al XX-lea)," *Archiva Moldaviae* 8 (2016): 195–213.

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Museum of Antiquities seemed to be one step ahead of the Commission. However, in Transylvania, the Museum shared that authority with the Institute of Classical Studies in Cluj, while in Moldova, the Institute of National History "A.D. Xenopol" of Iaşi claimed the status of archaeological authority in the region.[20]

In the eyes of the ideologues of the new pro-Soviet regime in Bucharest, archaeology had great ideological potential. Archaeology was needed for the legitimization of the regime and its Marxist discourse, as indeed was the entire Romanian historiography. According to an article with no author(s), most likely commissioned by the propaganda office of the Romanian Communist Party for the main periodical of the Institute of History and Philosophy of the Romanian Academy, archaeology was "an important element of the cultural revolution."[21] The centralization of archaeological research and the planning of excavations throughout the country were the direct result of that approach.[22]

From 1949 the archaeological activity in the People's Republic of Romania was under the control of the Institute of History and Philosophy of the Romanian Academy.[23] The National Museum of Antiquities was attached to the latter and transformed into the Institute of Archaeology, in 1956.[24] In the eastern part of Romania, in Moldavia, the archaeological projects were managed by the same Institute of National History "A.D. Xenopol," which, since 1953, hosted a section devoted to archaeology. Later, the institute in question was organized as the Institute of History and Archaeology "A.D. Xenopol."[25] In Transylvania, the Institute of Classical Studies was integrated in 1949 into the new Institute of History and Archaeology in Cluj.[26] Apart from those institutions, each Romanian administrative unit (*judeţ*) had a museum, and most museums had their own archaeologists.

20 Ștefan, "Istoricul Muzeului," 141; Ion Nestor, "Despre cercetările și săpăturile arheologice executate în 1948 în regiunile extracarpatice ale Republicii Populare Române," *Studii. Revistă de știință și filosofie* 1 (1949): 152; Vasile Chirică and Dan Aparaschivei, *Institutul de arheologie Iași* (Jassy: B.A.I. XIII, 2004), 7.

21 "Cu privire la situația actuală a științei arheologice în R.P.R.," *Studii. Revistă de istorie și filosofie* 1 (1951): 141.

22 Mihail Roller, "Realizări și sarcini noi pe tărâmul științelor istorice," *Contemporanul*, October 7, 1949.

23 Nestor, "Despre cercetările și săpăturile," 152.

24 Mircea Babeș, "Marile etape ale dezvoltării arheologiei în România," *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche* 32/3 (1981): 327.

25 Chirică and Aparaschivei, *Institutul*, 7.

26 D.M., "Institutul de istorie și arheologie—Cluj," in *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești*, ed., Ștefan Ștefănescu (Bucharest: Editura științifică și Enciclopedică, 1978), 366–367.

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The development of Romanian archaeology during this period cannot be dissociated from the personality of the historian and propagandist Mihail Roller. He was the one who set the priorities of Romanian archaeology until the mid-1950s. Moreover, without any training in the field, he assumed responsibilities of an "archaeological inspector" and checked how the excavations were carried out.[27] In his propaganda articles, Roller spoke enthusiastically about the generous support given by the Romanian Communist Party to archaeological research.[28] He was right, as most authors studying the Romanian archaeology under Communism have concluded. Obviously, that came at a price, as archaeologists had to cope with the ideological instrumentalization of their discipline.[29]

Archaeology seemed to be so important to the Party that, pending the formation of a new generation of specialists, archaeologists who had worked during the "capitalist" era had to be reactivated.[30] The regime needed their expertise, but especially their scientific authority. In exchange for cooperation, the Party was even ready to forget their "bourgeois" and nationalistic behavior in the past, at least in some cases. The former director of the National Antiquities

27 Between 1925 and 1931, Roller was trained in technical schools in Berlin and Paris. He became a member of the Communist Party during that period. In 1940 he settled in the USSR, where he continued his studies, now in History, at Moscow State University. After 1944, he held several important positions, including Deputy Minister of Science and Education of the Romanian Communist Party's Propaganda and Agitation Section and vice president of the Department of Historical, Philosophical, and Economic Sciences. "Consfătuirea istoricilor din R.P.R. (16–17 ianuarie 1953)," *Studii. Revistă de istorie și filosofie* 1 (1953): 27; Liviu Pleșa, "Mihail Roller și "stalinizarea" istoriografiei românești," *Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica* 10/I (2006): 165–177.

28 Mihail Roller, "Realizări și sarcini noi pe tărîmul științelor istorice," Studii. Revistă de istorie și filosofie 4 (1949): 21–22.

29 Aleksandru Madgearu, "Cultura Dridu și evoluția poziției României în lagărul socialist," *Analele ANTIM. Revista de istorie* 8 (2008): 63; Anghelinu, *Evoluția gândirii teoretice*, 178–179; Florin Müller, *Politică și istoriografie în România, 1948–1964* (Cluj-Napoca: Nereamia Napocae, 2003), 1999–201; Florin Curta, "The changing image of the Early Slavs in the Romanian historiography and archaeological literature. A critical survey," *Südost-Forschungen* 53 (1994): 270–271; Babeș, "Marile etape," 327–329.

30 The reactivation of archaeologists trained during the "capitalist" period and the more generous funding of archaeology were not unique to the Romanian Communist Party. In Russia, after "The Great October," several archaeologists with a "capitalist" past continued their professional activity. The Soviet state, like the later Romanian socialist state, had no intentions to be thrifty in matters pertaining to archaeology. Platonova, *Istoriia arkheologicheskoĭ mysli*, 203–253; Leo S. Klejn, "Histoire de l'archéologie russe," *Les Dossiers d'Archéologie* 270 (2002): 6–7; Klejn, *Fenomen*, 16–18, 23; Klejn, *Istoriia Rossiiskoi Arkheologii, ucheniia*, T. 1, 566–613; Klejn, *Istoriia Rossiiskoi Arkheologii, ucheniia*, T. 2, 28–39 and 60–78; Lebedev, *Istoriia otechestvennoĭ arkheologii*, 418–427; Priakhin, *Istoriia sovetskoĭ arkheologii*.

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Museum, Vladimir Dumitrescu, spent three years (1952–1955) in prison for his involvement with the extremist right-wing organization, the "Iron Guard." Upon his release, he had to sign a commitment stating that he would be allowed to return to archaeological research.[31]

However, most if not all those archaeologists were very reluctant to cooperate with the new regime and its pro-Soviet orientation. In spite of their ideological beliefs, most of them found their place in the new political context. Constantin Daicoviciu, professor at the University of Cluj, specializing in Dacian archaeology and Classical philology, and Ion Nestor, professor at the University of Bucharest, specializing in prehistory, are two emblematic figures of the Romanian archaeology of that period. Both began their careers in the 1920s and 1930s, making their specializations in the West, the first in Italy, the second in Germany. Both were suspected of having been sympathetic to the extreme right movement before 1944. In private, amongst friends, both continued to express their reservations towards the new regime, acts of dissent recorded with a great deal of abnegation and zeal by the agents of the secret police. However, both were able to continue their careers, and even became part of the academic elite of Communist Romania. Of the two, however, Daicoviciu managed to obtain the most from the Party. Undoubtedly more pragmatic than his colleague, Daicoviciu became a Party member, and in public, zealously supported the new regime, as some testimonies showed. For that reason, he was elected a member of the Romanian Academy faster than Nestor and, unlike him, occupied high positions in the political structures of Romania's Communist Party. As far as Nestor was concerned, he was far more intransigent with the new regime and his pro-Soviet orientation, an attitude that explains why he was frequently harassed by the secret police. That is also why his travel requests for research in the USSR were always denied.[32]

Of course, the regime also concerned itself with the training of a new generation of archaeologists. To that end, some Romanian students were sent to Soviet universities. This was the case of Hadrian Daicoviciu, the son of Constantin Daicoviciu.[33] This was also the case of Mircea D. Matei and Maria Comşa.[34] The former pursued his doctorate in Leningrad, the latter in Moscow.

31 Vladimir Dumitrescu, *Închisorile mele, memorii* (Bucharest: Albatros, 1994), 112–113.

32 Ioan Opriș, *Istoricii și securitatea*. T. 1 (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004), 21–149; Ioan Opriș, *Istoricii și securitatea*. T. 2 (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2006), 566–580; David Prodan, *Memorii* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1993), 161–162.

33 C.P., "Daicoviciu, Hadrian," in *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești*, ed., Ștefan Ștefănescu (Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1978), 118.

34 C.P., "Matei, Mircea," in *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești*, ed., Ștefan Ștefănescu (Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1978), 214; E.C., "Comșa, Maria," in *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești*, ed., Ștefan Ștefănescu (Bucharest: Editura științifică și

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The former discovered in 1953 in Suceava, the old capital of the Principality of Moldavia, a sixth- to seventh-century site for a long time regarded as the oldest Slavic establishment in Romania.[35] It seems that for Matei, Slavic archaeology was only a brief episode in his professional career as he was mostly known as a researcher of the medieval city. Meanwhile, beginning with the second half of the 1950s, Maria Comşa became a leading Romanian specialist on the Slavic question.

1.3 *Attempts of Marxization*

According to Roller, the archaeologist Daicoviciu, and the historian Petre Constantinescu-Iaşi—an "old friend of the USSR"[36]—Marxism or Marxism-Leninism was the only "scientific way" for Romanian archaeologists.[37] According to Roller, archaeology was the study of the mode of production of material goods.[38] The culture history school and the so-called "invasionist" theory (i.e., migrationism), which "was used to explain the emergence of

enciclopedică, 1978), 102–103; Ștefan Olteanu, "Maria Comșa 1928–2002," *Thraco-Dacica* 1–2 (2002): 324; Opriș, *Istoricii și securitatea*. T. 1, 67.

35 Mircea D. Matei, "Contribuții la cunoașterea ceramicii slave de la Suceava," *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche* 2 (1959): 409–439.

36 In 1925, Constantinescu-Iaşi defended his PhD dissertation in Art History. From 1926 to 1936, he was the chair of Art History Department of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Iaşi. At that time, he published a few articles and critical notes on archaeology. He also looked at the history of Romanian-Bulgarian relations. In parallel with his historiographical activity, he was involved in politics, as he was a founding member of the Romanian Communist Party, and of the Society "Friends of the USSR." He was also elected president of the Romanian Anti-Fascist Committee and was a member of the International Anti-Fascist Committee. Because of that activity, during the Second World War (as Romania was allied with Germany), he lost the right to teach and spent a few years in prison. Apart from the directorate of the Institute of Romanian-Soviet Studies, after 1944 he held several other high offices, such as Minister of Propaganda, Minister of Worship, Vice President of the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly, President of the Union of Higher Education of Bucharest, vice-president of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences, president of the Society of Historical Sciences, and president of the Commission of Historical Monuments. Emil Condurachi ed., *Omagiu lui P. Constantinescu-Iași cu prilejul împlinirii* a *70 de ani* (Bucharest: Academia Republicii Populare Romîne, 1965), IX–XII; Aleksandru Moshanu, "Konstantinesku-Iash'," in *Enchiklopediia sovetikė moldoveniaskė*, ed., Iakim Grosul. T. 3 (Kishinev: Redaktsiia Princhipalė a Enchiklopediei sovetiche moldovenesht', 1972), 402–403; S. Neagoe, *Triumful rațiunii împotriva violenței. Viața universitară ieșană interbelică* (Jassy: Junimea, 1977), 442–463; T.U., "Constantinescu-Iași, Petre," in *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești*, edited by Ștefan Ștefănescu (Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1978), 106–107.

37 Roller, "Realizări și sarcini," 27; Constantin Daicoviciu, "Cercetările arheologice în R.P.R.," *Studii. Revistă de știință și filosofie* 1 (1949): 162; Petre Constantinescu-Iași, "Știința istorică sovietică, adevărata știință a istoriei," *Studii. Revistă de istorie și filosofie* 4 (1949): 71.

38 Roller, "Realizări și sarcini," 24–28.

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new [archaeological] cultures" were disavowed.[39] Constantinescu-Iaşi invited Romanian archaeologists to explain changes in material culture not by means of external forces like the arrival of some foreign tribes, but by means of the internal development of local tribes, and the change of forces and relations of production.[40]

However, Romanian archaeologists trained during the "capitalist era" had no desire to follow that invitation. Even those who were now influential and responsible for the introduction of Marxism into Romanian archaeology were not very consistent in their remarks. Daicoviciu, for example, was criticized for neglecting the issue of the forces of production.[41] Even Roller showed a lack of ideological vigilance. Probably impressed by the remains of ancient Greek cities on the Black Sea coast of Romania, and under the influence of some archaeologists, he agreed to include those cities in research plans for the Romanian archaeology. According to Roller, the study of those cities would shed light on their contribution to the disappearance of "primitive" social relations in indigenous communities, and to the emergence of the slave-based mode of production.[42] Thus, Roller was forced to recognize that an external force did in fact contribute to changing social relations and the local material culture.

In the Slavophile climate of the early 1950s, another foreign force was also invoked to explain changes in social relations on the territory of Romania, namely the Slavic tribes. Those were presented, much like in Soviet historiography, as a progressive force that put an end to the slave-based society and contributed to the rise of the feudal mode of production.[43]

An article without author published by the same periodical of the Institute of History and Philosophy of the Romanian Academy informed Romanian archaeologists and historians what the tasks were that had been set up for them by the Second Congress of the Romanian Communist Party. The article duly noted that "Marxism is not a dogma."[44] Roller, on the other hand, insisted that Marxism-Leninism had to be applied "creatively to the Romanian reality."[45] However, the reality that Romanian archaeologists had to face showed that the

39 "Cu privire la situația actuală," 139.

40 Constantinescu-Iași, "Știința istorică sovietică," 71.

41 "Consfătuirea istoricilor din R.P.R.," 59; "Despre activitatea Institutului de istorie din Cluj al Academiei R.P.R.," *Studii. Revistă de istorie și filosofie* 2 (1953): 36.

42 Roller, "Realizări și sarcini," 22.

43 "Cu privire la situația actuală," 148.

44 "Sarcinile de mare răspundere puse de Congresul al II-lea al P.M.R. în fața istoricilor," *Studii. Revistă de istorie și filosofie* 1 (1956): 10.

45 Roller, "Realizări și sarcini," 27.

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Marxism upon which the ideologues of the new regime insisted was indeed a dogma, since, just like in the Soviet Union, in Romania no critical discussion took place about the applicability of Marxist principles in archaeology. That is why, just like in the USSR, the project of transforming the Romanian archaeology into a Marxist science never succeeded. A recent study on the impact of Marxism on Romanian prehistoric archaeology, rightly concluded that the implantation of Marxist ideas in Romanian archaeology "was neither fast and consistent, nor sustainable."[46]

Ever since the new regime had begun to take an interest in archaeology, social questions coexisted with the ethnic problem. The official discourse on archaeology sometimes gave the impression that social problems were even put on a back burner when it came to ethnic attribution.[47] The ethnic problem, particularly the question of Romanian was at the top of the research agenda announced in 1955 by the Commission for the Study of the Genesis of the Romanian Language and People.[48] The Commission began its activity in 1956 and brought together linguists, archaeologists and historians. Its final goal was to contribute to the drafting of the *Treaty of the History of Romania*, a work commissioned by the Party and published by the Romanian Academy in 1960.[49]

1.4 *Marrisation*

As in the USSR, the ideologues of the new regime in Romania tried to promote the linguistic theory of Marr. In an article on the "true science of history" in existence in the Soviet Union, Constantinescu-Iaşi told Romanian archaeologists

46 Anghelinu, *Evoluția gândirii teoretice*, 183.

47 "Consfătuirea istoricilor din R.P.R.," 17–18; "Cu privire la situația actuală," 140; Mihail Roller, "Cu privire la unele probleme din domeniul cercetărilor istorice," *Studii. Revista de istorie și filosofie* 3 (1952): 150.

48 The first census that the new regime organized in the late 1940s and in the 1950s showed that ethnic Romanians accounted for more than 85% of the country's population. Apart from them, at least two ethnic groups had a rather large representation, Hungarians (9.5%) and Germans (2.2%). Also living in Romania were Jews (0.8%), Roma (0.6%), Tatars (0.2%), and Turks (0.1%). Other ethnic groups such as Ukrainians, Russians, Bulgarians, Czechs, Serbs, or Croats were together only 1.2%. Immediately after the war, in 1945, the Romanian government adopted the Nationalities Statute, a law of Soviet inspiration that offered quite broad rights to ethnic groups in Romania. In the 1960s, with the revival of the pan-Romanian nationalist discourse, the Romanian state adopted an assimilationist strategy towards those ethnic groups. Gabriel Andreescu, *Schimbări în harta etnică a României* (Cluj-Napoca: CRDE, 2005).

49 Andrei Măgureanu, "Dezbateri privind etnogeneza românilor în anii '50. De la manualul lui Roller la tratatul de istorie," *Studii şi cercetari de istorie veche şi arheologie* 58/3–4 (2007): 296–303.

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about the relevance of that theory.[50] The Romanian-Soviet Institute under his direction placed the translation and publication of the most important works of Marr in its business plan for the year 1950.[51]

However, and despite the efforts made, there is no Romanian archaeologist who was even remotely influenced by Marrism. As with Marxism in general, the hostility of the Romanian archaeologists towards that theory was largely the result of their education and training during the "capitalist era" in a nationalist and anti-Soviet environment. On the other hand, it is also true that they had little time to get accustomed with Marrism. In the same year (1950) in which the Romanian-Soviet Institute in Bucharest was planning the publication of Marr's works, Stalin, condemned Marr's theory. Without delay, the periodical of the Institute of History and Philosophy of the Romanian Academy welcomed and approved the criticism.[52] That is why the Romanian archaeologist Sebastian Morintz was wrong when in 1953, at a meeting, claimed that the Romanian archaeology had suffered because of "doubtful and unscientific Marrist ideas."[53]

1.5 *The Slavic Problem*

In 1944, shortly after the Soviet army entered the Romanian territory, a group of intellectuals set up the "Romanian Association for the Strengthening of Relations with the USSR." The *Russian Book* printing house and the *Romanian Soviet Annals* magazine appeared in 1946, in Bucharest. The Romanian-Soviet Institute was founded in 1947, and a year later, in order to demonstrate the Romanian-Russian friendly relations had an old tradition, and were fruitful, and multilateral, the Romanian-Russian Museum was created. In that same

50 Constantinescu-Iași, "Știința istorică sovietică," 71.

51 "Activitatea Institutului de Studii Romîno-Sovietic pe anul 1949 și planul pe anul 1950," *Studii. Revistă de istorie și filosofie* 2 (1950): 192.

52 [Pëtr N. Tret'iakov] Pëtr Tretiacov, "Unele probleme cu privire la originea popoarelor în lumina operelor lui I.V. Stalin despre limbă şi lingvistică," *Studii. Revistă de istorie şi filosofie* 1 (1951): 68–89; "Sesiunea Consiliului ştiinţific al Institutului de Istorie, consacrată aniversării unui an dela apariţia genialei opere a lui I.V. Stalin, "Marxismul și problemele lingvisticii," *Studii. Revistă de istorie și filosofie* 4 (1951): 197–211; Iosif V. Stalin, "Cu privire la marxism în lingvistică," *Studii. Revistă de istorie și filosofie* 3 (1950): 5–22; Iosif V. Stalin, "Cu privire la unele probleme de lingvistică," *Studii. Revistă de istorie și filosofie* 3 (1950): 23–27; Iosif V. Stalin, "Răspuns unor tovarăși," *Studii. Revistă de istorie și filosofie* 4 (1950): 11–17; Viktor V. Vinogradov, "Genialul program al lingvisticii marxiste," *Studii. Revistă de istorie și filosofie* 4 (1950): 18–53; Viacheslav P. Volgin, "Un eveniment exceptional în știința contemporană," *Studii. Revistă de istorie și filosofie* 4 (1950): 54–57; [Aleksandr V. Topchiev] Aleksandr V. Topciev, "I.V. Stalin despre problemele de lingvistică," *Studii. Revistă de istorie și filosofie* 4 (1950): 58–69.

53 "Consfătuirea istoricilor din R.P.R.," 48.

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year, the "Maxim Gorki" Institute began its activity, preparing teachers of Russian language and literature. In 1956, the "Association of Slavists of the People's Republic of Romania" was established with its magazine *Romanoslavica*. Young people were going to study in the USSR and other "popular Slavic and Slavic friendly countries." Linguists and historians also made visits to the USSR for research.[54]

In such a context, it would have been odd had the Slavic problematic not appear as a priority for the Romanian archaeology. The pro-Soviet orientation of post-war Romania was presented as a result of a long and logical historical evolution. The origins of good relations with the Soviet Union were sought at the dawn of time. Constantinescu-Iaşi, for example, suggested that the tradition of Romanian-Russian and Romanian-Soviet friendship can be dated back to the Paleolithic and the Neolithic.[55] It should be emphasized, however, that the inclusion of Slavic issues in the research agenda of Romanian archaeologists was not entirely irrelevant. Several written sources, as well as place names in Romania, suggested the presence of a Slavic-speaking population in the Middle Ages. During the "capitalist" period, several Romanian linguists and historians working within the positivist paradigm had written about the contribution of the Slavs to the ethnogenesis of the Romanians, the formation of their language, and culture, and the creation of the Romanian medieval states. As a matter of fact, especially for the period 1890–1920, one can argue that Romanian intellectuals had a pronounced interest in the Slavic elements of the Romanian culture, and Slavic civilization in general.[56] This was the time

54 Adrian Cioroianu, *Pe umerii lui Marx. O introducere în istoria comunismului românesc* (Bucharest: Curtea veche, 2005), 106–148; Vlad Georgescu, *Politică şi istorie. Cazul comuniştilor români. 1944–1977* (Munich: Jon Dumitru- Verlag, 1981), 18–19; G.M., "Din activitatea asociației slaviștilor din Republica Populară Romînă (1959–1961)," *Romanoslavica* 6 (1962): 319–321; G.M., "Cinci ani de activitate a asociației slaviștilor din R.P.R. (1956–1961)," *Romanoslavica* 7 (1963): 241–243; Traian Ionescu-Nișcov, "Din activitatea 'Asociației slaviștilor din R.P.R'," *Romanoslavica* 3 (1958): 336–339; Gheorghe Mihăilă, "Slavistica romînească după 1944 și sarcinile ei actuale (Lucrările de lingvistică)," *Ronanoslavica* 4 (1960): 5–34; Redacția, "Activitatea în domeniul slavisticii din Republica Populară Romînă în perioada 1944–1958," *Romanoslavica* 3 (1958): 3–9.

55 Petre Constantinescu-Iași, *Influențe ale arhitecturii vechi rusești asupra vechii arhitecturi românești* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, 1951), 7; Petre Constantinescu-Iași, *Relațiile culturale romîno-ruse din trecut* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, 1954), 29.

56 Boia, *Istorie și mit*, 42–49; Alexandru Zub, *Junimea. Implicații istoriografice, 1864–1885* (Jassy: Junimea, 1976), 23–24 and 226–254; Ștefănescu, *Elementele*, 110–111; Nicolae Iorga, *Scurtă istorie a slavilor răsăriteni. Rusia şi Polonia. Simple linii de orientare* (Bucharest: Tipografia "Cultura Neamului Românesc", 1919); Alexandru D. Xenopol, *Istoria românilor din Dacia Traiană*. T. 2 (Bucharest: Institutul de Arte Grafice și Editura « Librăriei Școalelor »

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when Slavic Studies were institutionalized in Romania.[57] The most prominent figures of that academic discipline—Ioan Bogdan (1864–1919), professor at the University of Bucharest, and Ilie Barbulescu (1873–1945), professor at the University of Iaşi—were widely recognized as scholarly authorities even outside their own country.[58]

However, the pro-Western orientation of the Romanian elites, the antagonism between the Romanian national movement and that of some Slavic ethnic groups (Ruthenians, for example), the complicated relations with neighboring Slavic states (marked by territorial disputes over southern Dobrudja with Bulgaria, and over Bessarabia with Russia and, later, with the Soviet Union), caused a significant part of the Romanian intellectuals to turn indifferent to Slavic Studies and even to minimize the Slavic presence or to regard it as a black page in their nation's history.[59] That trend became more pronounced during the 1930s with the intensification of Romanian nationalism and especially of the anti-Soviet feelings. It is in that context that the historian Nicolae Iorga (1871–1940) was tempted to shorten as much as possible the time that the early Slavs supposedly spent on the Romanian territory before their mass migration to the Balkans, and even completely excluded those tribes from the history of Romania.[60] At the beginning of the twentieth century, some Romanian

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C. Sfetea, 1914), 60–93; Ilie Bărbulescu, *Problemele capitale ale slavisticii la Români* (Iaşi: Tipografia H. Goldner, 1906); Ioan Bogdan, *Românii și bulgarii. Raporturile culturale și politice intre aceste doua popoare* (Bucharest: Editura Librărieĭ Socecŭ & Comp., 1895); Ioan Bogdan, *Scrieri alese*, ed., Academiei Republicii Socialiste România (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1968), 102–103; Curta, "The changing image," 235–252.

57 Radu Mârza, *The History of Romanian Slavic Studies. From the Beginnings until the First World War* (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian Studies, 2008), 193–424.

58 Damian P. Bogdan, "Legăturile slavistului Ioan Bogdan cu Rusia," *Studii privind relațiile româno-ruse* 3 (1963): 181–338; Damian P. Bogdan, "Ioan Bogdan, activitatea științifiă și didactică," *Romanoslavica* 3 (1958): 187–207; "Aprecieri asupra publicaţiilor," *Arhiva. Revistă de istorie, filosofie şi cultură românească* 2, 3, 4 (1934): 15–28.

59 Ion Nistor, *Românii și rutenii in Bucovina. Studiu istoric și statistic* (Bucharest: Librăriile Socec & Comp. și C. Sfetea, 1915). See also Ovide Densuseanu, *Histoire de la langue roumaine* (Bucharest: Editura "Grai și suflet—Cultura națională", 1997), 11–25; Boia, *Istorie și mit*, 115–121; Petre P. Panaitescu, *Interpretări românești* (Bucharest: Editura enciclopedică, 1994), 13–29; Curta, "The changing image," 225–240; Bogdan, "Ioan Bogdan," 187–189; Ilie Bărbulescu, *Individualitatea limbii române şi elementele slave vechi* (Bucharest: Casa școalelor, 1929), 1; Stamati, "Pourquoi les Roumains," 53–80.

60 Nicolae Iorga, *Histoire des Roumains et de la romanité orientale*. T. 2 (Bucharest: Académie roumaine, 1937), 321; Nicolae Iorga, *La vérité sur le passé et le présent de la Bessarabie* (Bucharest: Regia M.O. Imprimeria Națională București, 1931), 3–4.

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historians believed that their ancestors, the Daco-Romans,[61] had very good relations with the Slavic tribes.[62] During the 1930s, however, that idea was completely abandoned. Instead, the historian Constantin C. Giurescu (1901–1977) now maintained that the Slavs were not very different from all other barbarians that had invaded the territory of Romania in the past and had tried to subjugate the ancestors of the Romanians.[63]

In the new political and ideological context after World War II, that trend disappeared. In Roller's version of Romanian history, the Slavs, especially the Eastern Slavs, were given a very important role.[64] Thus, the Slavic tribes were believed to have arrived in Romania during the third and fourth centuries and to have had a decisive contribution to the economic, social, political, and cultural development of the indigenous society. Similarly, the eastern region of the People's Republic of Romania, i.e. Moldavia, was believed to have been once part of Kievan Rus, as well as of the principality of the Halych-Volhynia, both of which contributed to the emergence of the earliest local state structures, and ultimately of the medieval principality of Moldavia. Wallachia and Transylvania also benefited from their proximity to those Slavic states. Moreover, almost the entire territory of Romania was "at one time" part of medieval Bulgaria. The southern and eastern Slavs had a considerable contribution to the genesis of the Romanian people, their culture, and statehood. Even though Roller admitted that the early Slavs came to Romania from elsewhere, he asked archaeologists to verify whether, perhaps, they were in fact native to at least some part of the country.[65]

In fact, Roller expected archaeologists to support or illustrate with their artefacts the ideas that he and his collaborators had put forward. Apparently,

61 According to the Romanian historiography, Romanians are a mixture of the Romans, Dacians and/or Geto-Dacians that were Romanized from the first or second century, shortly before, but especially after the Roman conquest of Dacia. Romanian nationalists used the Romans as a symbol of their country's pro-Western aspirations, and the Dacians as a sign of the antiquity of the Romanian rights to their own territory. Since "Romanians" for those people is nowhere to be found in the sources, Romanian historians refer to their ancestors with such artificial phrases as as "Daco-Romans," "Romanized Geto-Dacians," "Romanized population," or "proto-Romanians." Boia, *Istorie și mit*, 83–107.

62 Xenopol, *Istoria românilor*, 64–65; Ion Nistor, *Istoria Basarabiei* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 1991), 12.

63 Constantin C. Giurescu, *Istoria românilor*. T. 1 (Bucharest: Fundația pentru literatură și artă «Regele Carol II», 1935), 235–249.

64 Mihail Roller, ed., *Istoriia Rumynii. Populiarnyi ocherk* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Inostrannoi Literatury, 1950), 51–61; Roller, "Cu privire la unele probleme din domeniul," 150–153; Mihail Roller, ed., *Istoria R.P.R. Manual pentru învățământul mediu* (Bucharest: Editura de Stat Didactică și Pedagogică, 1952), 49–51, 53–69 and 73–74.

65 Roller, "Cu privire la unele probleme din domeniul," 152.

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archaeologists did not hesitate to meet such expectations. In 1949, the discovery of Slavic remains was already announced in several regions of the country, in Transylvania, Banat, Oltenia, and Dobrudja.[66] In the first half of the next decade, the presence of Slavic remains was recorded even on the territory of the capital city, Bucharest.[67] At that time, two sites had a key significance in any discussion about the early Slavs in Romania: Moreşti in Transylvania, and Garvăn-Dinogeţia in Dobrudja.[68] The archaeologists who carried out the excavations at Garvăn-Dinogeţia were even decorated for the results of their efforts.[69] Some archaeologists seemed to agree with Roller about the contribution of the Slavs to the Romanian ethnogenesis.[70] The idea that Moldavia had once been part of Kievan Rus' also seemed to find supporters among Romanian archaeologists.[71] Such attitudes were noted with great satisfaction by one of the most important Soviet medievalists of the time, Boris D. Grekov, who visited Romania and, according to his own testimony, noticed the efforts of the Romanian scholars to find evidence of Moldavia's belonging to Kievan Rus.[72]

Nonetheless, Roller was right to criticize archaeologists for advancing too slowly in their new approaches and for avoiding the study of the Slavic problem.[73] Despite the official propaganda promoting the Romanian-Soviet

66 Gh.Ș., "Săpăturile arheologice dela Dinogeția-Bisericuța jud. Tulcea," *Studii. Revistă de știință și filosofie* 1 (1949): 136; M.M., "Săpăturile arheologice dela Mehadia (Banat)," *Studii. Revistă de știință și filosofie* 1 (1949): 140; K.H., "Săpăturile arheologice din sudul Transilvaniei," *Studii. Revistă de știință și filosofie* 1 (1949): 142–144; B.M., "Cercetări și sondagii arheologice și numismatice," *Studii. Revistă de știință și filosofie* 1 (1949): 149–151.

67 Radu Vulpe and al., "Academia Republicii populare romîne, Studii și referate privind istoria Romîniei: Din lucrările Sesiunii lărgite a Secțiunii de Științe istorice, filozofice și economico-juridice (21–24 decembrie 1953), București 1954 (Editura Academiei R.P.R., 2 vol., 2002 p.; partea I-a, p. 1–943; partea a II-a, p. 945–2001)," *Studii. Revistă de istorie* 4 (1955): 161–162.

68 Petre Constantinescu-Iași, "Raportul de activitate pe anul 1953 al secțiunii de științe istorice, filosofice și economico-juridice a Academiei R.P.R.," *Studii. Revistă de istorie și filosofie* 1 (1954): 139; "Cu privire la situația actuală," 148–149; Mihail Roller, "Cu privire la întocmirea programului de cercetări istorice pe anul 1952," *Studii. Revistă de istorie și filosofie* 4 (1951): 127–128; Roller, ed., *Istoria R.P.R.*, 150–153.

69 Fedorov, "Tivertsy," 259.

70 Dumitru Berciu, "Probleme ridicate de săpăturile arheologice din Oltenia (1949–1951)," *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche* 5/3–4 (1954): 357.

71 "Cu privire la situația actuală," 149; Ion Barnea, "Elemente de cultură materială veche rusească și orientală în așezarea feudală (secolele X–XII) de la Dinogeția (Regiunea Galați)," in *Studii și referate privind istoria Romîniei* Part 1 (1954): 195–227.

72 [Boris D. Grekov] Boris D. Grecov, "În România nouă," *Studii. Revistă de istorie şi filosofie* 2 (1953): 132.

73 Roller, "Cu privire la întocmirea programului de cercetări," 127–128; Roller, "Cu privire la unele probleme din domeniul," 151.

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friendship, most Romanian intellectuals, including archaeologists, had profoundly anti-Soviet sentiments.[74] On the other hand, within the Romanian archaeological community, Roller was most likely perceived as an intruder with no professional or moral credentials to suggest or impose any research topics. As noted, Roller was actually not trained as an archaeologist. His credentials as historian were also questioned.[75] This could account for the reluctance of the archaeologists to study Slavic issues. Indeed, with the exception of an article dedicated to Slavic pottery in Transylvania, which was still criticized for "technicalism," publications about Slavic issues that advanced new historical interpretations were slow to appear.[76] Moreover, minutes of scientific meetings and activity reports from the early 1950s suggest that the problem of the Slavs was overshadowed by that of the Dacians (or Geto-Dacians).[77] In the same vein, Romanian archaeologists, although noting the presence of Slavic remains, never followed Roller's request to verify whether the Slavs were native to at least a part of Romania's territory. In addition, not all archaeologists tended to support Roller's position concerning Moldavia being part of Kievan Rus. For example, Mircea Petrescu-Dâmboviţa, lecturer at the University of Al. Cuza in Iaşi,[78] the existing evidence only pointed to relations between the eastern

74 I have already mentioned Ion Nestor's pronounced anti-Sovietism. Another example of a clearly anti-Soviet attitude is that of Vladimir Dumitrescu. As I will show later, by the end of the 1950s, he succeeded in stopping for a year the collaborations with Soviet archaeologists as he considered them a foreign interference. See also, Radu-Alexandru Dragoman, "Despre o călătorie de documentare arcehologică în U.R.S.S.," *Studii de Preistorie* 9 (2012): 163.

75 In 1956, when the political context had changed, Roller was openly accused of plagiarism and general lack of professionalism. Pleșa, "Mihail Roller," 174.

76 Kurt Horedt, "*Ceramica slavă din Transilvania," Studii şi Cercetări de Istorie Veche* 2/2 (1951): 189–232; "Despre activitatea Institutului de istorie," 34; Madgearu, "Cultura Dridu," 63.

77 Ion Negoiu and al., "Sesiunea ştiinţifică a Universităţii « C.I. Parhon »," *Studii. Revistă de istorie* 5–6 (1955): 151–154; P. Constantinescu-Iaşi, "Raport de activitate pe anul 1953 al secţiunii de ştiinţe istorice, filosofice, şi economico-juridice a Academiei R.P.R.," in *Studii şi referate privind istoria Romîniei*, ed., Academia Republicii Populare Romîne, part 1 (Bucharest, 1954), 20–21; "Desbateri privitoare la lucrările de istorie prezentate la sesiune," *Studii. Revistă de istorie și filosofie* 1 (1954): 151–312. Even Roller was sometimes caught up with the Geto-Dacians, forgetting completely to mention the importance of studying the Slavs. Mihail Roller, "Unele învățăminte ale campaniei de săpături din 1949 în R.P.R." *Contemporanul*, December 2, 1949.

78 Mircea Petrescu-Dâmbovița (1915–2013) studied history at the University of Bucharest. Prior to starting his teaching career at the University of Iași in 1949, he was an assistant professor at the University of Bucharest and assistant archaeologist at the National Antiquities Museum. In 1967 he was appointed director of the Institute of History and Archaeology in Iaşi. He published several studies on Slavic issues and medieval

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region of Romania and Kievan Rus, not to the actual integration of that region into that medieval state.[79]

The reluctance of Romanian archaeologists to study Slavic issues can be understood better when comparing their achievements with those of Soviet archaeologists. In 1954, after six archaeological campaigns in Moldavia, Petrescu-Dâmboviţa noted the presence of no more than ten sites, none of which, according to him, was "purely Slavic."[80] The situation was different in Soviet Moldova. Within its territory, Fedorov's three campaigns between 1950 and 1953 resulted in the discovery of more than 80 "purely Slavic sites."[81] In the mid-1950s, most Soviet archaeologists continued to claim that Cherniakhov sites in the USSR and in Romania, though dated between the second and the fourth centuries, were nonetheless Slavic.[82] Unlike them, Romanian archaeologists were convinced that such sites, at least those from Romania were (Geto-)Dacian.[83] In the same vein, the vast majority of Soviet archaeologists were convinced that the combed decoration in straight, but especially wavy lines on pottery, was a marker of Slavic ethnicity. By contrast, Romanian archaeologists were skeptical about that.[84]

1.6 *Transylvania in the Vanguard*

In the early 1950s, Transylvania appeared to be the "most advanced" region in Romania in terms of the number of sites on which the discovery of Slavic

archaeology, but his main interest turned to the study of prehistory, especially the Bronze Age. Petrescu-Dâmbovița was a close disciple and collaborator of Nestor, and could have shared Nestor's anti-Soviet feelings. Mircea Petrescu-Dâmbovița, *Amintirile unui arheolog* (Piatra-Neamț: Bibliotheca Memoriaie Antiquitas, 2006), 29; C.E., "Petrescu-Dîmbovița, Mircea," in *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești*, ed., Ștefan Ștefănescu (Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1978), 261–262.

79 "Consfătuirea istoricilor din R.P.R.," 27; "Desbateri privitoare," 247.

80 Petrescu-Dâmbovița believed that when the Slavs arrived to Moldavia they found an indigenous population. Although he did not say who those indigenous people were, he most likely had in mind the (Geto-)Dacians. Mircea Petrescu-Dâmbovița, "Rezultatele ultimelor cercetări ale arheologilor sovietici cu privire la așezările de tip Romen-Borșevo și importanța lor pentru arheologia R.P.R.," *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche* 3–4 (1954): 575–580.

81 Fedorov, "Itogi trekhletnikh rabot," 8.

82 Shchukin, "Vremia « Che »," 5.

83 Vulpe and al., "Academia Republicii populare romîne," 145.

84 Ion Berciu, "Descoperiri din epoca feudală timpurie în raionul Alba Iulia," *Materiale și cercetări arheologice* 4 (1957): 354; Dumitru Tudor, "Sucidava IV. Campania a șaptea (1946) și a opta (1947) de săpături și cercetări arheologice în cetățuia dela Celei, reg. Craiova, raionul Corabia," *Materiale arheologice privind istoria veche a R.P.R.* 1 (1953): 713–714.

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remains was announced. In 1949 as many as twenty such sites were reported.[85] These sites were identified by the archaeologists at the Institute of History and Archaeology in Cluj, an institution that at the time was headed by Constantin Daicoviciu. It is therefore same to assume that this unusually large number of sites was the direct result of Daicovicius's zeal in meeting the political demands of the Party. However, there is more to this matter than meets the eye. During the first decades of the twentieth century, Transylvania was the bone of contention between Romanian and Hungarian historians. This historiographical dispute intensified in 1940, when, following the Vienna Dictate, Hungary took from Romania almost half of Transylvania. Until the end of the Second World War, the most important, if not the only question that truly moved historians in both countries in relation to Transylvania was who exactly were the first inhabitants of the province—the Romanians or the Hungarians? The Romanian historiography relied on the testimony of *Gesta Hungarorum*, the earliest Hungarian medieval chronicle that has survived. According to that source, when the Magyar tribes arrived, Transylvania was already inhabited by a mixed Romanian-Slavic population.[86] To deny the presence of the Slavs in medieval Transylvania was therefore tantamount to questioning the presence of the Romanians in that province. As an activity report signed in 1942 by Daicoviciu indicates, in the early 1940s, that is *before* the establishment of the pro-Soviet regime in Romania, a team of archaeologists from Cluj had already carried out archaeological excavations on allegedly Romanian-Slavic sites in Transylvania.[87]

After 1948, the Cluj archaeologists, definitely feeling that the new regime encouraged them to do so, continued a research project initiated in the early 1940s in the still "bourgeois and anti-Sovietic" Romania. Moreover, it should be noted that the sites found in Transylvania, as well as in the eastern part of Romania after 1948, were regarded as "Romanian-Slavic," and not as "purely Slavic."[88] This was also the case of the famous Moreşti site, initially presented as a "giant

85 Kurt Horedt, "Cercetările arheologice din regiunea Hoghiz-Ugra și Teiuș," *Materiale arheologice privind istoria veche a R.P.R.* 1 (1953): 785–815; K.H., "Săpăturile," 142–144; Colectivul, "Şantierul 'Aşezări slave în regiunile Mureş şi Cluj'," *Studii şi cercetări de istorie veche* 3 (1952): 311–348; Petre Constantinescu-Iași, *Realizările istoriografiei romîne între anii 1945–1955* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, 1955), 23–24.

86 Alexandru Madgearu, *The Romanians in the Anonymous Gesta Hungarorum. Truth and Fiction* (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Cultural Institute, 2005).

87 Constantin Daicoviciu, "Raportul Institutului de Studii Clasice al Universității Clujene," *Anuarul Comisiunii monumentelor istorice pe* 1942 (1942): 99.

88 Berciu, "Descoperiri din epoca feudală," 335–339.

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Slavic-Romanian settlement."[89] The ethnic interpretation of the other key site, Garvăn-Dinogeţia, was less clear. Ion Nestor certainly believed it to have been inhabited by Dacians, but in one of his articles published in the late 1940s he decided to be more ambiguous and attributed the site to Daco-Romans "or" Slavs. Roller was probably convinced that the ancient inhabitants of the site were Slavs, while for Constantinescu-Iaşi, Garvăn-Dinogeţia was rather a site of the indigenous people with historical ties with Russia. He had followers among the excavators of the site, at least in their publications.[90]

1.7 *Maria Comşa versus Ion Nestor*

From the mid-1950s, Romanian historians gradually returned to a nationalist discourse.[91] Between 1960 and 1980 the general tendency was to minimize the participation of medieval Slavs in the Romanian national history.[92] Until his death in 1974, Ion Nestor was the main promoter of such ideas.[93] In that, many young archaeologists followed him enthusiastically.[94] The young archaeologist Maria Chişvasi (Comşa, after her marriage to the archaeologist Eugen Comşa), was not one of them. By the late 1950s, she appeared to be the winner in the dispute over the Slavic problem, in which she opposed her senior colleague, Ion Nestor.[95] Comşa, and not Nestor, was assigned the task of drafting the chapter on the Slavs for the Romanian History Treaty commissioned by the Party and published by the Romanian Academy.[96] Shortly thereafter, Comşa

89 Sebastian Morintz, "Expoziția arheologică 1952," *Studii. Revistă de istorie și filosofie* 2 (1952): 197; Roller, "Cu privire la unele probleme din domeniul," 150–152.

90 Barnea, "Elemente de cultură materială," 195–227; Gheorghe Ștefan and al., "Șantierul arheologic Garvăn (Dinogeția)," *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche* 5/1–2 (1954): 161–197; Constantinescu-Iași, "Raportul de activitate pe anul 1953," 139; Roller, "Cu privire la întocmirea programului de cercetări," 123; Nestor, "Despre cercetările și săpăturile," 156.

91 Madgearu, "Cultura Dridu," 63–64; Florin Constantiniu, *De la Răutu și Roller la Mușat și Ardeleanu* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2007), 125–133.

92 Curta, "The changing image," 238–310; Madgearu, "Cultura Dridu," 63–71.

93 Ion Nestor had long been known as a specialist in prehistoric archaeology. However, in the 1950s, he dedicated more time and energy to the problem of the early Slavs, and was consequently elected Vice President of the International Union of Slavic Archaeology. E.C., "Nestor, Ion," in *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești*, ed., Ștefan Ștefănescu (Bucharest: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1978), 235–236.

94 Dan Gh. Teodor, "Contribuții la cunoașterea culturii Dridu pe teritoriul Moldovei," *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche* 2/19 (1968): 227–278.

95 Nestor was 23, older than Chișvasi-Comșa.

96 Maria Comșa, "Slavii," in *Istoria Romîniei*. T. 1, ed., Constantin Daicoviciu and al. (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, 1960), 728–756.

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began to lose ground in front of Nestor and his successors.[97] In the early 1980s, she would even complain to her Soviet colleagues that she was no longer free to publish her true views.[98] Comşa pursued her PhD studies in Moscow, defending her thesis in 1956.[99] Upon returning to Romania, she was for a while, the secretary of the Communist Party cell at the Institute of Archaeology in Bucharest.[100] To this day, those details of her academic career have raised great reservation about her among Romanian historians. By contrast, Nestor is often presented as a fiercely fighting against the submission of Romanian archaeology to the ideological exigencies of the pro-Soviet regime.[101]

To be sure, in some respects, Mary Comşa's position on Slavic issues was close to the position of Soviet historiography. However, it would be a mistake to see her as a sort of "Soviet agent" in Romanian archaeology. As I will demonstrate, not all of her views were in agreement with those of Soviet archaeologists. It is also important to note that, in some respects, Maria Comşa influenced some Soviet archaeologists, and not the other way around.

As far as Ion Nestor is concerned, he may certainly be regarded as a militant against the interference of the pro-Soviet regime in the Romanian archaeological research. It is equally true that Nestor tenaciously defended his own position in the academic world. Maria Comşa started her archaeological career only after defending her doctoral thesis, in 1956, when Nestor was already a correspondent member of the Romanian Academy. Secrete police agents, some of his former students, as well as archaeological folklore described Nestor as a very intelligent man, and a brilliant professor with a pronounced critical spirit that contributed to raising the general level of Romanian archaeology. On the other hand, many of those sources portray him as proud, authoritarian, and even despotic, especially with his younger colleagues.[102] Under those circumstances, it was quite understandable why he could not easily accept his authority to be challenged, especially by a young female archaeologist. The fact that Maria Comşa pursued her doctorate in Moscow and that she was the secretary

97 According to the secret police files, a personal conflict broke out between Nestor and Comşa. This conflict reached its peak in the years 1960–1961. Apparently, Nestor had just promised his colleague that he would destroy her career. Opriș, *Istoricii și securitatea*. T. 1, 56–68.

98 *Protokol №. 10 rasshirennogo zasedaniia*.

99 Olteanu, "Maria Comșa," 324.

100 Opriș, *Istoricii și securitatea*. T. 1, 59.

101 Opriș, *Istoricii și securitatea*. T. 1, 21–149.

102 Opriș, *Istoricii și securitatea*. T. 1, 21–91; Eugenia Zaharia, interview by Silvia Iliescu, 1996, audio. Available at http://www.rador.ro/info4.shtml?cat=1281&news=251326 (visit of October 24, 2014); Zoe Petre, interview by Octavian Silivestru, 2012, audio. Available at http://www.rador.ro/info4.shtml?cat=1281&news=251326 (visit of October 24, 2014).

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of the party cell at the Institute of Archaeology had an entirely secondary importance in the outbreak and the confrontation between her and Ion Nestor. In fact, the archive documents show that she recognized the positive features of Nestor. At the same time, however, she noted that he had the habit of disregarding any autonomous inclinations that his younger colleagues may have had.[103]

Maria Comşa's Position

Comşa seemed to agree with her Soviet colleagues that the Slavs played a very important role in the medieval history of the lands north of the Lower Danube, including Moldavia. She did not rule out the possibility that certain Slavic groups entered that territory before the sixth century. However, regarding the date of the appearance in the region of Vlachs or "proto-Romanians," her position was very different from that of the Soviet archaeologists and historians. The latter claimed that the Vlachs had come to Moldavia from Transylvania, beginning with the twelfth century. According to Maria Comşa, the Slavs settled in a region that was already inhabited by a Romanized or proto-Romanian population. The Slavs conquered those people and then settled among them. In addition, shortly after their arrival in Moldavia in the sixth century, the Slavs began raiding the lands south of the Danube bringing back Roman prisoners with them. The presence on the same archaeological sites of both hand- and wheel-made pottery was the result of the cohabitation of those two ethnic groups, since according to Comşa, the handmade pottery was typical for Slavs, while she attributed the wheel-made pottery to the Roman(ized) population. The archaeological culture that encapsulated to this situation came to be known later as the "Ipoteşti-Ciurelu-Cândeşti," named so after three eponymous sites. Comşa also identified handmade pottery forms that she believed to be of local, Dacian tradition. According to her, the fact that before the twelfth century, the Romanized population in the lands north of the Danube is not mentioned in any written sources is simply because such sources were only interested in those who exercised political power in the region. Throughout the early Middle Ages, the proto-Romanians were a conquered population. However, Comşa believed that Procopius of Caesarea's story of the sixth-century barbarian from the Slavic tribe of the Antes who had a sufficient knowledge of Latin to impersonate a Roman general named Chilbudios was a piece of indirect evidence for the presence in the land north of the Danube of a population speaking Latin, members of which must have taught that language to "phoney Chilbudios."

103 Opriș, *Istoricii și securitatea*. T. 1, 67.

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According to Comşa, the Romance-speaking population in the lands north of the Lower Danube, especially in the southern part of Moldavia, increased considerably during the ninth and tenth centuries. At the time, a Romanized population, which, according to Comşa, consisted of ancient Romanians came together with South Slavs from the Balkans, as a consequence of the Bulgarian expansion to the north. The archaeological correlate of that migration was the Balkan-Danubian culture. According to Comşa, besides the traditional Slavic and Bulgar pottery types, ceramic assemblages of that culture also included forms that were Romanian. After the Bulgarian withdrawal in the eleventh century, Romanians became the most important ethnic group in the region. According to Comşa, the fact that they used place names of South Slavic origin indicates the coexistence of the two populations. The Slavs remained dominant only in the northern part of Moldavia, and only until the twelfth century when, according to Comşa, a wave of Romanians from Transylvania entered that territory, thus contributing to its final Romanianization.[104]

It also appears that, unlike her Soviet colleagues, Comşa was not in favor of the idea of a Moldovan ethnic group that was different from Romanians. She wrote about Slavs entering Moldavia—both the Romanian part of the medieval principality and the territory of Soviet Moldova—that was inhabited by "old Romanians," not of the Vlachs.[105] Comşa also rejected the idea that the eastern territory of Romania had ever belonged to Kievan Rus. According to her, the area in question was under Bulgarian influence.[106]

During the late 1950s, Comşa was also convinced that she had identified an archaeological culture which she called Bucov and dated between the mid-ninth and the mid-tenth century. She believed that to be an exclusively Romanian culture.[107] At two sites in Bucov, a village in north-eastern Wallachia, she studied several sunken-floored buildings, each with an open circular or oval hearth in the corner. According to Comşa, those were typically Romanian houses, not unlike those described by ethnographers for areas inhabited by Romanians. Moreover, the ethnic attribution of these houses was

104 Maria Comșa, "Sur l'origine et l'évolution de la civilisation de la population romne, et ensuite protoroumaine, aux VI^{e}–X^{e} siècles sur le territoire de la Roumanie," *Dacia* 12 (1968): 356; [Maria Comșa] Maria Komsha, "Novye svedeniia o rasselenii slavian na territorii RNR," *Romanoslavica* 9 (1963): 515; Comșa, "Slavii," 728–755; [Comșa] Chișvasi-Comșa, "Slavii de răsărit pe teritoriul R.P.R.," 73–89; [Maria Comșa] Maria Chișvasi-Comșa, "Unele concluzii istorice pe baza ceramicii din secolele VI–XII," *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche* 1–4/8 (1957): 277–288.

105 [Comșa] Chișvasi-Comșa, "Slavii de răsărit pe teritoriul R.P.R," 82.

106 Comșa, "Slavii," 741.

107 [Maria Comșa] Maria Chișvasi-Comșa, "Săpăturile de la Bucov (r. și reg. Ploiești)," *Materiale și cercetări arheologice* 5 (1959): 495–500.

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substantiated by the presumably Dacian origin of the Romanian word for hearth ("vatră").[108] The wheel-made pottery found at Bucov was also regarded as another ethnic marker of Romanian presence, because, according to Comşa, its shapes and production followed the Roman tradition.[109]

As noted, Maria Comşa influenced the opinions of some Soviet archaeologists. Thus, the concept of the Balkan-Danubian Culture, which she advanced in response to the concept of the Dridu culture proposed by Nestor, was accepted not only by Georgiĭ Fedorov, but also by his former students, Gheorghe Cebotarenco and Ion Hîncu. Hîncu was in fact the one that was most influenced by Comşa, as he believed the old Romanians (and not the "Vlachs," as in the Soviet jargon), along with the Slavs and other populations mentioned in the medieval sources to have been the bearers of that culture.[110] In the 1960s, Fedorov and Cebotarenco were also lured by Comşa's interpretations, and admitted the possibility of a neo-Latin ethnic component.[111] Comşa believed that culture to have appeared north of the Lower Danube as a consequence of the Bulgar expansion during the eighth and ninth centuries.[112] By the late 1950s, she regarded that culture was as covering the southern half of both the

108 According to Comşa, the house with open hearth could not be Slavic because the Slavis came from the much colder regions of northern Europe. Instead, they had houses with stone ovens, which were better adapted to colder climates. Maria Comșa, "Contribuții la cunoașterea culturii străromîne în lumina săpăturilor de la Bucov (r. și reg. Ploești), (studiu preliminar)," *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche* 1/10 (1959): 83.

109 Comşa sometimes had doubts about Bucov being an archaeological culture. In the late 1950s, she undoubtedly considered it to be a distinct archaeological culture, by 1963 she regarded Bucov as a mere variant of the Balkan-Danubian culture. However, before 1970 she returned to her older interpretation. Maria Comșa, "Cu privire la evoluția culturii Balcano-Dunărene în sec. IX–XI (studiu preliminar)," *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche* 1/14 (1963): 113; Comșa, "Sur l'origine," 368–380.

110 [Ion Hîncu] Ivan G. Khynku, "Pamiatniki Balkano-Dunaiskoi kul'tury (X–XIV vv.)," in *Drevniaia kul'tura Moldavii*, ed., Valentin S. Zelenchuk and al. (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1974), 127–150; [Ion Hîncu] Ivan G. Khynku, "K voprosu o voloshsko- slavianskoĭ material'noĭ kul'ture v Moldavii," *Trudy III konferentsii molodykh uchenykh Moldavii* 3 (1963): 87–89.

111 Fedorov and [Cebotarenco] Chebotarenko, "Kul'tura pervogo Bolgarskogo tsarstva," 28–29.

112 [Comșa] Chișvasi-Comșa, "Unele concluzii," 279; [Comșa] Chișvasi-Comșa, "Slavii de răsărit pe teritoriul R.P.R.," 81.

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Romanian Moldavia, and of Soviet Moldova.[113] As mentioned above, Fedorov was of the same opinion.[114]

It must be pointed out that although there were so many differences between her position and the position of Soviet historiography, she never contradicted openly the wiews of her Soviet colleagues. There is not a single criticism of Soviet archaeologists in any of her works. Moreover, in order to avoid openly taking a critical position, from the 1960s onwards she refrained from formulating any opinion on medieval ethnopolitical phenomena on the territory of the MSSR. I will show her reasons for doing so in the section dedicated to the relations between Romanian and Soviet archaeologists.

The Position of Ion Nestor and his Followers

Nestor's anti-Sovietism may have greatly influenced his scholarly position. It should be noted that, much like in Comşa's case, there is no criticism of Soviet archaeologists in any of his works. However, unlike Comşa, he sometimes referred to Soviet Moldova, especially in the 1960s, as part of the cradle of Romanian civilization. His attitude towards Maria Comşa also influenced his position. What Comşa called the Balkan-Danubian culture, Nestor called Dridu, a culture named after the eponymous site in eastern Wallachia. Unlike Comşa, he linked that culture only to Romanians, especially because he believed it to have covered the same territory in which twentieth-century Romanians lived. According to Nestor, the Romanian attribution of the culture was supported by the fact that some of its features later appeared in the culture of medieval Moldavia. According to him, Romanian thirteenth- to fourteenth-century pottery had Dridu roots. Nestor believed that neither the Bulgars nor the South Slavs could have created that culture. Instead, they were only its carriers and only in the lands south of the Danube. While Comşa and Soviet archaeologists believed the gray ware with burnished ornament to be Bulgar, Nestor derived it from "local tradition" or from Byzantine influences. The Bucov sites that Comşa regarded as representing a distinct culture, Nestor simply integrated into his Dridu culture. Similarly, according to Nestor, houses with open hearths or stone ovens were no ethnic markers. The variation was just a matter of fashion in use by different ethnic groups within one and the same region. It should

113 [Comșa] Chișvasi-Comșa, "Slavii de răsărit pe teritoriul R.P.R.," 82. In the first half of the 1960s, she changed her opinion, in that she believed that in the tenth century that culture covered the entire territory of Moldavia. Towards the end of the 1960s, she changed her mind again by restricting that culture to the southeastern part of Moldavia. Comșa, "Cu privire la evoluția culturii Balcano-Dunărene," 119; Comșa, "Sur l'origine," 371.

114 Fedorov and [Cebotarenco] Chebotarenko, "Kul'tura pervogo Bolgarskogo tsarstva," 29.

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be noted that when attributing the Dridu culture to Romanians, Nestor also referred to the territory of the MSSR.[115]

Unlike Comşa, Nestor also tried to promote the idea that Romanians were a very ancient ethnic element on the whole historical Moldavia, including Soviet Moldova. In fact, according to him, the territory of the MSSR was part of the cradle of the Romanian people, much like Transylvania and Wallachia. At the beginning of the 1960s, that idea was still cautiously formulated, but by the end of the decade Nestor boldly proclaimed it. The Romance-speaking population or the "Daco-Romans," to employ his own term, were archaeologically documented, especially in southern Moldavia, since at least, the fourth century. If in the early 1960s Nestor thought that the ancient Slavs remained in the region until the tenth century, towards the end of that same decade, he was convinced that they had been assimilated by proto-Romanians in the eighth century "at a rapid pace." Similarly, while in the first half of the 1960s he dated the beginnings of the Dridu culture in Moldavia to the ninth century, at the end of the decade, he claimed that culture was native to the territory of Moldavia, having formed there from an older culture dated back to the eighth century and called proto-Dridu.[116]

Nestor's ideas were further developed by younger Romanian archaeologists, particularly by Dan Gh. Teodor, an archaeologist working since 1956 at the Institute of History and Archaeology "A.D. Xenopol" in Iaşi.[117] In the early 1960s, Teodor still believed that Romanians were not native to the territory of eastern Romania. But by the late 1960s, he joined Nestor and eventually adopted even

115 Ion Nestor, "Contributions archéologiques au problème des proto-roumains. La civilisation de Dridu. Note préliminaire," *Dacia* 2 (1958): 371–382; Ion Nestor, "Slavii pe teritoriul R.P.R. în lumina documentelor arheologice," *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche* 1/10 (1959): 59; Ion Nestor, "Les données archéologiques et le probléme de la formation du peuple roumain," *Revue roumaine d'histoire* 3/3 (1964): 409–420; Ion Nestor, "Autochtones et Slaves en Roumanie. Les Slaves et le monde mediterranéen VI^{e}–XI^{e} siècles," in *Symposium international d'archéologie slave, Sofia, 23–29 avril 1970*, ed., Académie bulgare des sciences. Institut d'Archéologie (Sofia: Editions de l'Academie bulgare des sciences, 1973), 32; Ion Nestor and Eugenia Zaharia, "Sondajele de la Dridu (r. Urziceni, reg. Ploești)," *Materiale și cercetări arheologice* 5 (1959): 551–552.

116 Nestor, "Les données archéologiques," 405–407; Ion Nestor, "Formarea poporului roman," in *Istoria poporului român*, ed., Andrei Oțetea (Bucharest: Editura științifică, 1970), 91–108.

117 Born in 1933 in Bacău, Dan Gh. Teodor studied history at The University of Iaşi. Specializing in history and medieval archaeology, he defended his doctoral thesis, "The Territory East of the Carpathians in the VI–XI Centuries. Archaeological and Historical Contributions to the Study of the Problem of Formation of the Romanian People", in 1975 at the University of Bucharest, with Ion Nestor as one of his supervisors. C.P., "Teodor, Dan," in *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești*, ed., Ștefan Ștefănescu (Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1978), 322; Chirică and Aparaschivei, *Institutul*, 195–210.

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more radical views. According to Teodor, even if Dacians (or Geto-Dacians) of the region could not have been possibly Romanized directly by the Romans, since the province Dacia did not extend eastwards beyond the Carpathian Mountains, the local population in Moldavia maintained close ties with both the Roman province and with the Roman (later Byzantine) world south of the river Danube. That is why during the fourth and fifth centuries, the local population was also Romanized. According to Teodor, from that period onwards and throughout the Middle Ages, the material culture of the region was created by the "native Romanized" population, and not by Slavs. Like Nestor, he believed the Dridu culture to be entirely Romanian and originating from the proto-Dridu culture, which in turn derived from an older culture that he called Costişa-Botoşana. The latter was developed on the basis of the Cherniakhov or Sântana de Mureş-Cherniakhov culture, as it was often called by Romanian archaeologists. Teodor argued that the territory of the MSSR, but also Northern Bukovina which was part of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, belonged to the cradle of Romanian civilization. His main argument was the presence on these territories of Dridu-type remains.[118] The retrospective approach most certainly influenced the construction of his point of view. But Teodor is also typical for the general tendency of the Romanian historiography between the 1960s and 1980s to minimize the role of, or to evacuate completely the Slavs from the history of Romania and of the Romanians.

The Slavs, according to Teodor, settled in Moldavia by the late sixth century, and not before. In the eighth century, their ethnic assimilation by Romanians "begins to end." During the first half of the ninth century, they had already been assimilated by the native population. The sites discovered in Soviet Moldova and dated back to the tenth and eleventh centuries, which Fedorov regarded as strongholds of the Tivertsy, Teodor took as the work of Romanians.[119] Among the young archaeologists of the time, there were some who, apart from the notable case of Maria Comşa, were quite skeptical about this general trend. Thus, according to archaeologist Victor Spinei, a colleague of Dan Gh. Teodor

118 Dan Gh. Teodor, "Săpăturile arheologice de la Răducăneni (r. Huși, reg. Iași)," *Materiale și cercetări arheologice* 8 (1962): 723–729; Teodor, "Contribuții la cunoașterea," 270–271; Dan Gh. Teodor, "Unele probleme privind evoluția culturii materiale din Moldova în secolele VI–X," *Carpica* 2 (1969): 300; Dan Gh. Teodor, "Apartenența ethnică a culturii Dridu," *Cercetări istorice* 4 (1973): 136; Dan Gh. Teodor, *Teritoriul est-Carpatic în veacurile V–XI e.n. Contribuții arheologice și istorice la problema formării poporului roman* (Iași: Junimea, 1978), 30–31 and 120.

119 Dan Gh. Teodor, "Regiunile răsăritene ale României în secolele VI–VII," *Memoria Antiquitatis* 1 (1969): 188–189; Teodor, "Apartenența ethnică," 139; Teodor, *Teritoriul est-Carpatic*, 33; Dan Gh. Teodor, *Romanitatea Carpato-Dunăreană și Bizanțul în veacurile V–XI e.n.* (Jassy: Junimea, 1981), 45.

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at the Institute since 1966, the Dridu culture was after all not only the work of Romanians, but also of Slavs and Bulgars.[120] In addition, Victor Spinei seriously doubted that the strongholds studied by Fedorov in the MSSR belonged to Romanians, as his colleague claimed.[121]

2 Relations between Romanian and Soviet Archaeologists

2.1 *"Soviet Archaeology—The Most Advanced Archaeology in the World!"*

Between the late 1940s and the early 1960s, the recognition of the superiority of Soviet archaeology was an element of the Romanian archaeological discourse.[122] In academic publications, Romanian historians and archaeologists wrote of the "major" importance of the achievements of Soviet archaeology, its "profound influence" on Romanian archaeology, and the advantages that Romanian archaeology drew from collaboration with the Soviet archaeology.[123] Daicoviciu,

120 Born in 1943 in Lozova, a village in ancient Bessarabia, Victor Spinei was educated, like his colleague, at the University of Iaşi. Specializing in archaeology and medieval history, he defended his thesis, "Moldavia in the XI–XIV Centuries," in 1977 at the University of Bucharest. At the beginning of his doctoral studies, Ion Nestor was his supervisor, until his death in 1974. C.P., "Spinei, Victor," in *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești*, ed., Ștefan Ștefănescu (Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1978), 301; Chirică and Aparaschivei, *Institutul*, 175–192; Iurie Stamati and Sergiu Musteață, "Din periplul biografic al unui distins istoric. Interviu cu academicianul Victor Spinei," *Plural, History, Culture, Society* (2017): 216–258.

121 Victor Spinei, *Moldova în secolele XI–XIV* (Bucharest: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1982), 59, 85.

122 This sub-section is a reworked and augmented variant of an article published in 2016 in the journal *Ephemeris Napocensis*. Iurie Stamati, "'Long live Romanian Soviet friandship!' An exploration of the relationship between archaeologists from USSR and the People's/Socialist Republic of Romania," *Ephemeris Napocenssis* 26 (2016): 235–252.

123 Constantinescu-Iași, "Știința istorică sovietică," 71; P. Constantinescu-Iași, "Problema studierii relațiilor romîno-ruse și romîno-sovietice," in *Studii privind relațiile romîno-ruse și romîno-sovietice. Sesiunea comună a istoricilor romîni și sovietici, iunie 1958*, ed., Academia Republicii Populare Romîne, Institutul de Studii Romîno-sovietic (Bucharest: Academia Republicii Populare Romîne, 1958), 15; [Petre Constantinescu-Iași] Petre Konstantinesku-Iash', "Relatsiile romyno-sovetice shi azhutorul sovetik de la 23 august shi pynè az'," in *Prieteniia de viakur'. Materialele sesieĭ shtiintcifice a Institutuluĭ de Istorie a Filialeĭ Moldovenesht' a Akademieĭ de stiintce din Uniunia RSS (27–29 noembrie 1958)*, ed., Iakim S. Grosul and Nikolaĭ A. Mokhov (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1961), 60–61; Sebastian Morintz and Eugen Comșa, "Aspecte din colaborarea științifică între arheologii romîni și sovietici," *Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie* 9/1 (1958): 158–162; [Emil Condurachi] Emil Konduraki, "Rumynskaia arkheologiia," *Sovetskaia Arkheologiia* 1 (1958): 105; [Gheorghe Ștefan] George Shtefan, "Arkheologicheskie issledovaniia

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for example, argued that he and his comrades had much to learn from the experience of "Soviet scholars."[124] Nestor, though less enthusiastic than his colleague, noted that Soviet archaeologists had taken a "huge step forward" in studying the Cucuteni-Tripolie civilization of the Neolithic, a civilization that had spread on the territory of both states.[125] In turn, Soviet archaeologists seemed to confirm the existence of good relations with their Romanian colleagues.[126]

2.2 *First Contacts*

In the mid-1950s, except young Romanian archaeologists who earned doctoral degrees in the Soviet Union, there were no direct relations between the archaeologists of the two states.[127] Romanian archaeologists were familiar with the achievements of the Soviet archaeology through articles and books received from the USSR (often translated into Romanian), through the presentations or reports of the leaders of the new Romanian historiography, the Romanian students who were studying in the USSR, or even the official representatives of Soviet historiography during their "friendly visits" to Romania.[128]

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na territorii Rumynskoi Narodnoi Respubliki v 1954 godu," *Sovetskaia Arkheologiia* 29–30 (1959), 287–294.

124 Daicoviciu, "Cercetările arheologice," 162.

125 Nestor, "Despre cercetările și săpăturile," 155.

126 Tat'iana S. Passek, "Novye otkrytiia na territorii SSSR i voprosy pozdneoliticheskikh kul'tur Dunaĭsko-Dnestrovskogo mezhdurech'ia," *Sovetskaia Arkheologiia* 1 (1958): 33; Tat'iana S. Passek, "Rumyno-sovetskiĭ seminar po problemam pervobytnoi arkheologii," *Sovetskaia Arkheologiia* 3 (1963): 294; Tat'iana S. Passek and Ėmmanuil A. Rikman, "R. Vulpe. Izvoare, 1957," *Sovetskaia Arkheologiia* 4 (1959): 262.

127 "Otdelenie istoricheskikh nauk. Otchet o nauchno-issledovatel'skoĭ i nauchno-organizatsionnoĭ deiatel'nosti Moldavskogo filiala AN SSSR za 1955 g.," in *Otchet o nauchno-issledovatel'skoĭ i nauchno-organizatsionnoĭ deiatel'nosti Moldavskogo filiala AN SSSR za 1955 g.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1, Nr. 93, 1955); "Otdelenie istoricheskikh nauk. Otchet o nauchnoĭ deiatel'nosti Moldavskogo filiala AN SSSR za 1958 g." In *Otchet o nauchnoĭ deiatel'nosti Moldavskogo filiala AN SSSR za 1958 g.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1, Nr. 121, 1958); C.P., "Daicoviciu, Hadrian," 118; C.P., "Matei, Mircea," 214; E.C., "Comșa, Maria," 102–103; Olteanu, "Maria Comșa," 324; Opriș, *Istoricii și securitatea*. T. 1, 67.

128 Constantinescu-Iași, "Știința istorică sovietică" 71; Constantin Daicoviciu, "N.D. Derjavin: Slavii în vechime," *Studii. Revistă de istorie și filosofie* 3 (1949): 133–135; "Ședința secției de istorie și filosofie a Academiei de Științe a U.R.S.S.," *Studii. Revistă de istorie și filosofie* 2 (1950): 174–175; [Tret'iakov] Tretiacov, "Unele probleme," 68–89; Gh.D., "M.C. Carger, Chievul și cucerirea mongolă. 'Sovetscaia Arheologhia', 1949, Nr. 11," *Studii. Revistă de istorie și filosofie* 4 (1952): 133–137; "Consfătuirea istoricilor din R.P.R.," 25; [Grekov] Grecov, "În România," 129–133; [Rybakov] Boris A. Rîbacov, "Problema formării poporului vechii Rusii în lumina lucrărilor lui I.V. Stalin," *Studii. Revistă de istorie și filosofie* 1 (1953): 163–190; Anna Pankratova, "Problemele arzătoare ale științei istorice sovietice," *Studii. Revistă de*

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The Romanian-Soviet Institute was one of the main institutions mediating the Romanian-Soviet relations in the field of historiography and academic research in general.[129]

Until the mid-1950s, Soviet archaeologists learned in turn news about Romanian archaeological research from Romanian publications. Soviet specialty magazines also featured reviews or articles presenting the main results of Romanian archaeological research.[130] In the second half of the 1950s, however, the situation changed. Soviet authorities, probably convinced that the Romanian historiography, and Romania in general, had forever broken with its "bourgeois" and "nationalist" past, and that, as a consequence, there was no risk for Soviet historians and archaeologists to be "contaminated by hostile ideologies," allowed direct contacts between scholars from both countries.

Although Romanian archaeologists established contacts with their counterparts from Ukraine and Russia, at least during the second half of the 1950s, their most intense relationships were with their colleagues from the MSSR. As noted, until the end of the 1950s, Romania proved to be a rather obedient vassal of the USSR, apparently giving up on its claims to Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina. That is why, during the second half of the 1950s, an unprecedented rapprochement between the MSSR and the People's Republic of Romania was

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istorie și filosofie 2 (1953): 135–151; [Maria Comșa] Maria Chișvasi, "Cum se lucrează pe șantierul arheologic dela Novgorod (U.R.S.S.)," in *Studii și referate privind istoria Romîniei. Din lucrările sesiunii lărgite a secțiunii de științe istorice, filozofice și economico-juridice (21–24 decembrie 1953)*. Part 1, ed., Academia Republicii populare Romîne (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii populare Romîne, 1954), 539–550; Vulpe and al., "Academia Republicii populare romîne," 165–166; Georgiĭ B. Fedorov, "Slavii vechi în RSS Moldovenească," *Studii. Revistă de istorie* 1 (1955): 83–92; Ar. Pagu, "Revista de referate asupra materialelor sovietice sosite la I.S.R.S — Istorie — nr. I. 1954," *Studii. Revistă de istorie* 2 (1955): 116–118; Ar. Pagu, "«Revista de referate» asupra materialelor sovietice sosite în Institutul de studii romîno-sovietic — Istorie, nr. 1–2, 1955," *Studii. Revistă de istorie* 4 (1955): 167–170.

129 [Constantinescu-Iași] Konstantinesku-Iash', "Relatsiile romyno-sovetice," 49–62; Georgescu, *Politică și istorie*, 18–19.

130 Irina T. Kruglikova, "Daicoviciu, La Transylvanie dans l'antiquité. Bucarest, 1945," *Vestnik Drevneĭ Istorii* 4/30 (1949): 197–201; "Drevniaia istoriia i arkheologiia v stranakh narodnoi demokratii," *Vestnik Drevneĭ Istorii* 4/38 (1951): 3–14; [Gheorghe Ștefan] George Shtefan, "Arkheologicheskaia vystavka v Bukhareste," *Voprosy istorii* 9 (1952): 152–154; Boris Kolker, "Po stranitsam rumynskogo zhurnala « Ocherki i issledovaniia po drevneĭ istorii » (Arkheologicheskie raskopki v RNR)," *Vestnik Drevneĭ Istorii* 3/40 (1952): 102–113; Mihail Roller, "O rabote rumynskikh istorikov," *Voprosy Istorii* 10 (1954): 190–191; Evseĭ I. Spivakovskii, "Novye izdaniia po istorii Rumynii," *Voprosy istorii* 8 (1953): 140–151; Igor' Orlik, "Novye trudy po drevneĭ istorii Rumynii," *Voprosy Drevneĭ Istorii* 3/53 (1955): 159–165; Ėmmanuil A. Rikman and Lazar' L. Polevoĭ, "K. Goredt. Slavianskaia keramika Transil'vanii," *Sovetskaia Arkheologiia* 24 (1955): 324–332.

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allowed. In that context, in 1956, Nikolaĭ Mokhov, the Soviet historian from Kishinev (now Chișinău) arrived in Bucharest to discuss at the Romanian Academy the "expansion of relations" between historians from both countries. In the same year, the young archaeologist from the MSSR, Pavel Bîrnea and his boss, Georgiĭ Smirnov, participated in archaeological excavations on sites in Romania. The following year, other archaeologists from the MSSR came to Romania for study.[131]

At the same time, a group of Romanian archaeologists participated in excavations in the MSSR and took part in the first Romanian-Soviet seminar that took place in 1957 on the archaeological site of Alcedar, in the eastern part of the MSSR. During that seminar, Soviet and Romanian archaeologists and ethnologists discussed the issue of "Slavic-Romanian-Moldovan" archaeology and ethnography. In total, three Romanian-Soviet seminars on archaeology were organized between 1957 and 1958, and a collaboration agreement was signed at the initiative of the Soviet party. In turn, historians from the two countries participated in joint sessions in Kishinev and Bucharest, with presentations that, in accordance with the spirit of the time, demonstrated the antiquity and the strength of the friendship between Romanians, Moldovans, Russians and Ukrainians.[132]

131 "Otchet o rabote Instituta istorii, iazyka i literatury Moldavskogo filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR za 1956 g., Istoricheskie otdely," "Mezhdunarodnye sviazi," in *Otchet o nauchnoĭ deiatel'nosti Moldavskogo filiala AN SSSR za 1957 god.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1, Nr. 114, 1957); "Otdelenie istoricheskikh nauk. Otchet o nauchnoĭ deiatel'nosti Moldavskogo filiala AN SSSR za 1958 g."

132 "Otchet o rabote Instituta istorii, iazyka i literatury Moldavskogo filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR za 1957 god, otdely istorii," in *Otchet o nauchnoĭ i nauchno-organizatsionnoĭ deiatel'nosti MF AN SSSR za 1957 god.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1, Nr. 115, 1957); "Rezoliutsiia seminara po voprosam slaviano-rumyno-moldavskoĭ arkheologii i ėtnografii ot 23 avgusta 1957 goda.," in *Otchet o nauchnoĭ i nauchno-organizatsionnoĭ deiatel'nosti MF AN SSSR za 1957 god.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1, Nr. 115, 1957); "Otchet o rabote Sovetsko-rumynskogo seminara po pervobytnoi arkheologii, sostoiavshegosia 27–30 maia s.g.," in *Protokol zasedaniia istoriko-ekonomicheskoi sessii i nauchnoĭ konferentsii molodykh uchenykh Moldavii.* (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 5, 1958); *Perepiska s Rumyniei, 1958 god.* (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 14, 1958); Fedorov, "Sovmestnye raboty," 81–84; Fedorov and Polevoĭ, *Arkheologiia Rumynii*, 14; Petrescu-Dâmbovița, *Amintirile*, 12–13; Academia Republicii Populare Romîne, Institutul de Studii Romîno-sovietic, ed., *Studii privind relațiile romîno-ruse și romîno-sovietice. Sesiunea comună a istoricilor romîni și sovietici, iunie 1958* (Bucharest: Academia Republicii Populare Romîne, 1958); Academia Republicii Populare Romîne, ed., *Studii privind relațiile romîno-ruse și romîno-sovietice. Sesiunea comună a istoricilor romîni și sovietici, iunie 1958* (Bucharest/Moscow: Academia Republicii Populare Romîne, 1960); Șt. Ștefănescu "Sesiunea comună a istoricilor romîni și sovietici de la Chșinău," *Romano-slavica* 4 (1960): 403–406.

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During this period, the readers of the official press of the MSSR had the opportunity to learn that the friendship between the Soviet and Romanian historians was constantly strengthened.[133] In one of his literary essays, Georgiĭ Fedorov wrote in a less formal manner, but with the same enthusiasm, about the importance of the first Romanian-Soviet seminar, offering details about the friendship between archaeologists from the two countries, a friendship fueled, according to his story, by Romanian, Russian, and Ukrainian songs around a campfire, as well as ethylic alcohol diluted with water, a beverage generously offered to participants.[134]

In two other essays, Fedorov outlined a no less idyllic image of his collaboration with his Romanian colleagues. One of those stories has him helping the Romanian archaeologist, Radu Vulpe extract, preserve, and study a papyrus found in a crypt near Constanța, on the Romanian Black Sea coast. That event was to Fedorov an example of "brotherly friendship among scientists in the socialist countries." The main heroes of the second essay are the archaeologists Maria and Eugen Comşa, both described in particularly warm colors. For Maria Comşa, Fedorov reserved a place of honor for her merits in discovering the material culture of the Romanians from the pre-state phase in the history of Wallachia and Moldavia. To Eugen Comşa, Fedorov was thankful for the assistance he had kindly offered during a research trip to Romania.[135]

However, the picture of the relations between Romanian and Soviet archaeologists was not always as rosy as Fedorov painted it. Despite the official propaganda that sang the paean of the friendship between the People's Republic of Romania and the Soviet Union, most Romanian intellectuals looked with suspicion to the great neighbor to the east. Archaeologists, as noted, were no exception. This was the case of Vladimir Dumitrescu, the former director of the National Antiquities Museum. In 1955, after his release from prison, Dumitrescu became head of department and was a quite influential person at the Institute of Archaeology in Bucharest.[136] For him, the collaborations initiated

133 "Perechen' izdannykh Institutom istorii MFAN SSSR v 1959 godu rabot," in *Otchet o nauchnoĭ deiatel'nosti Moldavskogo Filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR za 1959 god.* (AAŞRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1, Nr. 131, 1959).

134 In addition to the Moldovan and Russian archaeologists, Ukrainian archaeologists also attended that seminar. Fedorov, *Dnevnaia* (1977), 164–181.

135 Fedorov had one, friendly reproach for Eugen Comşa. According to Fedorov, his friend Eugen insisted on showing to him only the very beautiful, idyllic parts of Romania, and took it very hard when he did not succeed in doing just that. Fedorov, *Dnevnaia* (1966), 309–339.

136 E.C., "Dumitrescu, Vladimir," in *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești*, ed., Ștefan Ștefănescu (Bucharest: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1978), 133–134; Opriș, *Istoricii și securitatea*. T. 1, 83.

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by Soviet archaeologists led by Fedorov were a foreign interference in the academic research in his country. According to the archives of the Romanian secret services, Dumitrescu contributed to the suspension of the Romanian-Soviet archaeological collaborations in 1959.[137] Documents kept at the Archives of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Moldova, the post-Soviet successor of the MSSR, confirmed that in 1959 there was no direct contact between the Soviet and Romanian archaeologists.[138]

The same Fedorov, in an article published in a specialized journal, claimed that Romanian and Soviet archaeologists had the same views on the fundamental topics related to the history of the Carpathian-Danubian space.[139] Indeed, in some respects, the archaeologists in the two countries reached a certain commonality in their respective points of view. This was especially true in regards to the ethnic interpretation of the Cherniakhov Culture. As I have shown, until the mid-1950s, Soviet archaeologists, for the most part, believed it to be a Slavic culture, while those in Romania attributed it to the Geto-Dacian tribes. However, Soviet archaeologists, at least those working in the MSSR, were convinced that the Slavic component of that culture was very thin, and regarded the Geto-Dacians among its bearers.[140] I also noted that Maria Comşa's works on the Balkan-Danubian culture influenced the Fedorovs, Cebotarenco and Hîncu.

It should also be emphasized that beyond the facade of unity in the socialist camp in all areas of activity, the Soviet academic bureaucracy in fact never promoted commonality ("We, the Soviet and Romanian archaeologists"), but rather the opposite ("We, the Soviet archaeologists and they, the Romanian archaeologists"). However, for the same reason, no open confrontation between the two sides was later tolerated by the censoring authorities looking at the archaeological production in the two countries. Until the early 1980s, Soviet historians could only note in passing that their Romanian counterparts preferred to call the Vlachs Romanians.[141] However, throughout that period, they never mentioned in their publications that Romanian archaeologists did not approve of the idea of a Moldovan ethnicity.

137 See the volume of documents published by the Romanian archaeologist and historian Ioan Opris, the Soviet archaeologist "G.B. Fedorca". Undoubtedly, it is a misreading of Georgiĭ Fedorov's name. Opriș, *Istoricii și securitatea*. T. 1, 83–84.

138 "Otchet o nauchnoĭ deiatel'nosti Moldavskogo Filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR za 1959 god, Institut Istorii," in *Otchet o nauchnoĭ deiatel'nosti Moldavskogo Filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR za 1959 god.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1, Nr. 131, 1959).

139 Fedorov, "Sovmestnye raboty," 81–84.

140 Fedorov, "Rezultatele și problemele principale," 371–408.

141 Mokhov, *Formirovaniia* (1969), 36.

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2.3 *The "War of Nerves"*

The first meetings between archaeologists and Romanian and Soviet historians had shown that close relationships between the two was not always very beneficial, especially for the patriotic spirit of the latter. Thus, while on a research visit to Romania, during a dinner, the Soviet Moldovan archaeologist Pavel Bîrnea had the opportunity to hear his Romanian colleague Ion Nestor, claiming that Bessarabia was Romanian territory.[142] It was also likely that during the first Romanian-Soviet seminar, conducted on an archaeological site in the MSSR, Georgiĭ Fedorov realized that there were no ethnic differences between Moldovans and Romanians, or at least not as presented by the Soviet historiography and propaganda. Only that could explain why in his essay telling the story about that seminar, Fedorov noted that sung around the campfire were only Russian, Ukrainian, and Romanian, but not Moldovan, given the presence at the seminar of local, "Moldovan" archaeologists. In addition, some of the Soviet historians and archaeologists in the MSSR developed close ties with their Romanian colleagues and, according to various testimonies they secretly transported archival documents to their colleagues in Romania, sometimes hiding them in their shoes.[143]

While in the early 1970s, Fedorov saw that "the relations between Soviet and Romanian archaeologists were strengthening and intensifying," reports of archaeologists and historians in the MSSR for the period 1959–1980 noted the opposite.[144] The 1962 Romanian-Soviet seminar dedicated to the archaeological issues was the last event of its kind.[145] Except, perhaps, the years 1965 and 1966, throughout the period in question, Soviet archaeologists and historians in the MSSR complained that relations with their Romanian colleagues had not attained the level of the years 1956–1958.[146] They also lamented that their

142 Opriș, *Istoricii și securitatea*. T. 1, 73.

143 Demir Dragnev, interview by Iurie Stamati, 2010, audio.

144 Fedorov and Polevoĭ, *Arkheologiia Rumynii*, 14.

145 Fedorov, *Dnevnaia* (1977), 181.

146 "Otchet o nauchno-issledovatel'skoĭ rabote za 1965 god. Institut Istorii," in *Otchet o nauchno-issledovatel'skoĭ rabote za 1965 god.* (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 63, 1965); Informatsionnyĭ *otchet o* nauchnoĭ *i nauchno-organizatsionnoĭ deiatel'nosti Instituta istorii Akademii nauk Moldavskoĭ SSR za 1966 god.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1, Nr. 224, 1966); *Vazhneishie dostizheniia v oblasti estestvennykh i obshchestvennykh nauk v 1966 godu, Doklad glavnogo uchenogo sekretaria Prezidiuma Akademii nauk Moldavskoĭ SSR akademika AN MSSR G.B. Lazur'evskogo Obshchemu sobraniiu Akademii nauk MSSR*. (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1, Nr. 231, 1966).

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travel requests for study in Romania had been either approved with great difficulty, or rejected.[147]

The nature of the relations between the two states had also left its mark on relations between the Romanian and Soviet archaeologists. The tone was given by the Romanian archaeologists and historians. Those guided by the new orientation of the Romanian Communist Party began to minimize the role of the Slavs in the medieval history of the Romanians and of the territory inhabited by them. However, in the late 1960s there were still Romanian historians and archaeologists who did not seem to have clearly understood the country's new ideological orientation, since they continued to emphasize the role of the Slavs in the genesis of the Romanians and of their culture. In 1970, two syntheses of Romanian history appeared. In one of them, the Slavs were still present in the Romanian ethnogenesis. The role of the Slavs was also noted in the socio-political organization of the Romanians, and even in accelerating the development of feudal relations.[148] In the next synthesis, however, the Slavic tribes were a destabilizing factor in the development of the Daco-Roman or proto-Romanian, local society. According to the authors of that synthesis, the Slavs did not participate in the Romanian ethnogenesis.[149]

By the middle of that same decade the situation changed. The party had given more than clear indications of its intentions and goals. In the chapter devoted to the historical development of the "Romanian people on the road

147 "Otchet o nauchnoĭ deiatel'nosti Moldavskogo Filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR za 1959 god, Institut Istorii."; "Otchet o nauchnoĭ deiatel'nosti moldavskogo filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR za 1960 god, Institut Istorii," in *Otchet o nauchnoĭ deiatel'nosti Moldavskogo filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR za 1960 g., Institut geologii i poleznykh iskopaemykh, Otdel energetiki.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1, Nr. 138, 1960); "Rezul'taty sovmestnoĭ nauchnoĭ deiatel'nosti s zarubezhnymi uchrezhdeniiami i razvitie mezhdunarodnykh nauchnykh sviazeĭ," in *Otchet o nauchnoĭ i nauchno-organizatsionnoĭ deiatel'nosti za 1961 god.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1, Nr. 146, 1961); *Otchet o Nauchno-issledovatel'skoĭ rabote instituta za 1964 g.* (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 56, 1964); "Otchet o nauchno-issledovatel'skoĭ i organizatsionnoĭ rabote sektora arkheologii Instituta istorii AN MSSR za 1968 g.," in *Otchety o nauchnoĭ deiatel'nosti instituta za 1968g.* (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 85, 1968); *Otchet o nauchnoĭ i nauchno-organizatsionnoĭ deiatel'nosti Instituta za 1970 g.* (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 96, 1970); "Otchet o deiatel'nosti Instituta istorii za 1974 god," in *Otchety o nauchnoĭ i nauchno-organizatsionnoĭ deiatel'nosti institutov i otdelov, Otdelenie obshchestvennykh nauk za 1974 g.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1, Nr. 297, 1974); "Otchet o deiatel'nosti otdelenia obshchestvennykh nauk AN MSSR za 1977 god," in *Otchety nauchnykh uchrezhdenii otdeleniia obshchestvennykh nauk AN MSSR za 1977 god.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1, Nr. 391, 1977).

148 Miron Constantinescu and al., ed., *Istoria României* (Bucharest: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, 1970), 110–112.

149 Andrei Oțetea, ed., *Istoria poporului român* (Bucharest: Editura Științifică, 1970), 91–95 and 103–108.

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to economic and social progress, freedom and independence" in the *Communist Party Program for the Building of the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and the Advancement of Romania towards Communism*, published in 1975, Romanians were presented as a result of "the fusion between Dacians and Romans."[150] The Slavs were thus completely evicted from the ethnogenesis of the Romanians.[151] At the same time, several works of archaeology and history were published that "confirmed" that the Slavic tribes did not participate, at least not in a direct and positive manner, in the process of the formation of the Romanian people. According to those works, the Slavs even delayed that process. The Slavic tribes were also responsible for the delaying with which the Romanian medieval states apparently emerged.[152] One of those papers even mentioned the inconsistency of the concept of "Moldovan people," but in a rather cautious manner, in reference to "some foreign historians."[153]

It was in that context that in 1970, within the Academy of Sciences of the MSSR, the committee led by Mokhov was set up to study the issue of Moldovan ethnogenesis and the Vlach relations with the Slavs. In the 1970s, the committee held several sessions involving scholars—archaeologists, anthropologists, ethnologists, historians, and linguists—from several Soviet academic centers, and even from Bulgaria. During those sessions, "the minimization of the role of Slavs and their culture in the ethnic history of the region" was criticized and the "fundamental importance" that one had to recognize for "the investigation of the first stages of the genesis of the Moldovan ethnicity and the role of Slavic-Roman fusion in this process" was underlined. The committee also condemned the tendency of "foreign authors" to "contest the right of the Moldovan people to exist as a distinct ethnicity."[154]

The absence of Romanians at those sessions was a clear sign that the committee had been created first and foremost to take a stand against the Romanian historiography. Such a conclusion is substantiated by an internal

150 From the beginning of the 1980s, a good part of Romanian historiography focused on the Dacians, as the first and only true ancestors of the Romanians. Army General Ilie Ceauşescu, Nicolae Ceauşescu's brother, also supported such views. Constantiniu, *De la Răutu*, 391 and 405–411.

151 *Programul Partidului Comunist de făurire a societății socialiste multilateral dezvoltate și înaintare a României spre comunism* (Bucharest: Editura Politică, 1975), 28.

152 Dumitru Berciu, "Probleme privind formarea poporului român în lumina cercetărilor arheologice recente," *Revista de Istorie* 28/8 (1975): 1155–1169; Dumitru Berciu, "Procesul formării poporului român și a limbii române. Elemente constitutive, aria geografică și perioada istorică," *Era socialistă* 2 (1977): 39–44.

153 Berciu, "Probleme privind," 1159.

154 Mokhov and al., "Itogi," 6, 15 and 17; Muntian, "Istoki," 94.

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circulation report from 1973, signed by historian Il'ia Budak, the then director of the Institute of History at the Academy of Sciences of the MSSR:

> Archaeology as a branch of the historical science is a powerful ideological weapon that has often been used and is still used to solve very important political and ideological issues such as the [support] for historical rights over a territory, [the question] of ethnic unity or diversity, the role of a particular people in the formation of [a certain] culture, language, state, etc. Today, in the context of the acute ideological struggle, these issues are of major importance. For the MSSR, the archaeological research is particularly important because recently, on the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania (especially in Moldavia), archaeological excavations of medieval sites are carried out on an unprecedented scale, and the material obtained by the Romanian scholars is used to draw conclusions that are not always acceptable to the Soviet historical science. Those conclusions willingly minimize or even silence those subjects that are extremely important to us, such as the existence of the Moldovan people as a distinct ethnic category, the history of Slavic-Moldovan ties, the origins of Moldovan people's formation and its material culture, the role of the Russian and Ukrainian brotherhood peoples in the fate of the Moldovan population.[155]

As already noted, the ideological and censorship institutions in both states did everything possible to avoid the outbreak of an open conflict. In spite of the Romanian-Soviet disagreements, according to the slogans of the time, Romania remained a "sister and a friend." This is why the criticism of most Soviet historians was directed to some "anonymous falsifiers of history" or to the "contemporary bourgeois literature."[156] In turn, Romanian historians also avoided

155 Il'ia G. Budak, "O sostoianii issledovaniĭ arkheologicheskikh pamiatnikov Moldavii," in *Perepiska s akademicheskimi, s neakademicheskimi ucherezhdeniiami i otdel'nymi litsami po koordinatsii nauchnoĭ raboty za 1973 g.* (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 123, 1973).

156 Mokhov and al., "Itogi," 17; Muntian, "Istoki," 94. On the other hand, it is true that some works had been published in the West that questioned the concept of Moldovan ethnicity and the right of the USSR over Bessarabia. Meurs, *Chestiunea*, 231–234 and 277–293. It was only in the early 1980s that a volume appeared under the aegis of the aforementioned committee in which some archaeologists in the MSSR openly criticized their Romanian colleagues. Isak A. Rafalovich, "Slaviane VI–IX vv. v Dnestrovsko-Karpatskikh Zemliakh v osveshchenii zarubezhnoi istoriografii," in *Slaviano-moldavskie sviazi i rannie ėtapy ėtnicheskoi istorii moldavan*, ed., Valentin S. Zelenchuk and al. (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1983), 31-49; [Gheorghe Cebotarenco] Georgiĭ F. Chebotarenko, "Balkano-Dunaiskaia

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an open confrontation with their Soviet counterparts.[157] This is why there is no negative reference to Soviet scholars either in Maria Comşa's works, or in those signed by Ion Nestor. For that same reason, Dan Gh. Teodor made only a few, passing remarks about the fact that the archaeologists of the two countries had different views on the ethnic phenomena taking place on the territory of Moldavia at the end of Antiquity and in the Middle Ages.[158] Teodor, however, invoked another reason: openly criticizing his Soviet colleagues could have led to the worsening of the private ties he had with some of them. It was precisely because of those links that he received information from the USSR, and the publications he needed for his research.[159]

It is understandable, however, why some Soviet historians coming to Romania felt that they were coldly received. In the early 1970s, a team of Soviet historians visited the Institutes of History and Archaeology in Bucharest and Cluj with the purpose of gathering material for a synthesis of the history of Romania "from the oldest times to the year 1848." The report signed by one of

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arkheologicheskaia kul'tura v zarubezhnoi istoriografii," in *Slaviano-moldavskie sviazi i rannie ėtapy ėtnicheskoi istorii moldavan*, ed., Valentin S. Zelenchuk and al. (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1983), 58–79; [Pavel Bîrnea] Pavel P. Byrnia and Isak A. Rafalovich, "Problemy ėtnicheskoi istorii Dnestrovsko-Karpatskikh zemel' v kontse I—nachale II tysiacheletiia n.e.," in *Slaviano-moldavskie sviazi i rannie ėtapy ėtnicheskoi istorii moldavan*, ed., Valentin S. Zelenchuk and al. (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1983), 79–98.

157 Constantiniu, *De la Răutu*, 363–365. A very strong critique signed by a Romanian historian was nevertheless published at a publishing house in a capitalist country, the author signing with a pseudonym. Meurs, *Chestiunea*, 288–289. It should also be said that in 1973, a committee of Romanian-Soviet historians was created, perhaps to settle historiographical differences. Although the Romanian archaeologist Emil Condurachi (1912–1987), specializing in the study of Greek-Roman civilization, appeared in the committee, there was no discussion of archaeology. Judging from the available information, in the 1970s and 1980s several conferences were held in Romania and the USSR under the aegis of that committee. During discussions, the main topics pertained to the modern and especially contemporary history. Lidiia E. Semenova, "V komissii istorikov SSSR i Rumynii," *Voprosy istorii* 8 (1975): 184–187; Lidiia E. Semenova, "Ocherednaia nauchnaia vstrecha sovetskikh i rumynskikh istorikov," *Voprosy istorii* 3 (1976): 181; Lidiia E. Semenova, "Konferentsiia sovetskikh i rumynskikh istorikov," *Voprosy istorii* 1 (1977): 184–185; Lidiia E. Semenova, "Konferentsiia sovetskikh i rumynskikh istorikov," *Voprosy istorii* 6 (1978): 173; Lidiia E. Semenova, "Konferentsiia sovetskikh i rumynskikh istorikov," *Voprosy istorii* 12 (1980): 141–142; Lidiia E. Semenova, "Konferentsiia sovetskikh i rumynskikh istorikov," *Voprosy istorii* 1 (1983): 152–153; Lidiia E. Semenova, "Konferentsiia sovetskikh i rumynskikh istorikov," *Voprosy istorii* 10 (1985): 157–158; Lidiia E. Semenova, "Konferentsiia sovetskikh i rumynskikh istorikov," *Voprosy istorii* 7 (1987): 145–146.

158 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-Carpatic*, 47, 65, 119 and 128.

159 Dan Gh. Teodor, pers.comm. 2003.

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the team members pointed out that since the "Romanian side allocated almost no funds," they had to pay themselves for the photographing or copying of pictures and archival documents. The author also complained about problems with transportation when he and the rest of the team wanted to visit some archaeological sites.[160]

However, such an attitude was not the rule. The Romanian archaeologists and their USSR colleagues realized that they often worked on the same issues, which involved minimal cooperation. Neither the Neolithic civilization of Cucuteni-Tripolie nor the Sântana de Mureş-Cherniakhov culture stopped at the Romanian-Soviet border! That is why in a statement of the same period, Lazar' Polevoĭ expressed his satisfaction with his travels to Romania. Polevoĭ pointed out that his Romanian colleagues had given him access even to new materials, still unpublished.[161] Soviet archaeologists always insisted on the importance of continuing their collaboration with their Romanian colleagues, and were glad to receive their visits.[162] When such an event occurred, it was noted with much care and satisfaction in activity reports. For example, when the Romanian archaeologist Mircea Babeş came to the MSSR in 1966, he was presented in a Soviet report as a "famous researcher" who worked on the remains of the Roman era.[163]

However, it has to be said that in the 1960s and 1970s it was much easier for Romanian archaeologists to reach Moscow than the MSSR. Some of them had to take additional steps or resort to unorthodox strategies. According to Dan Gh. Teodor, who was in the Soviet capital, he asked the all-powerful director of the Moscow Archaeology Institute, Boris Rybakov, to facilitate his visit to the MSSR, a wish that the latter granted him.[164] Mircea Babeş, in his turn, remembered that he had arrived as a simple tourist in the MSSR.[165] Mircea D. Matei, on his way to Moscow, managed to make a short stopover in Kishinev, where

160 Pavel V. Sovetov, "Otchet o nauchnoĭ komandirovke v Sotsialisticheskuiu Respubliku Rumyniiu," in *Protokoly zasedanii Uchenogo soveta Instituta istorii za 1973 g.* (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 121, 1973).

161 "Protokol zasedaniia Uchenogo soveta Instituta istorii ot 14 oktiabria 1971 g.," in *Protokoly zasedanii Uchenogo soveta Instituta za 1971 g.* (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 103, 1971).

162 "Otchet o nauchno-issledovatel'skoĭ i organizatsionnoĭ rabote sektora arkheologii Instituta istorii AN MSSR za 1969 g.," in *Otchety sektorov Instituta za 1969 g.* (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 92, 1969).

163 *Informatsionnyĭ otchet o nauchnoĭ i nauchno-organizatsionnoĭ deiatel'nosti Instituta istorii Akademii Nauk Moldavskoĭ SSR za 1966 god.*

164 Dan Gh. Teodor, pers.comm. 2003.

165 Mircea Babeș, e-mail message to author, June 15, 2011.

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he met with two of his colleagues.[166] In the 1970s and 1980s, it was even more difficult for archaeologists in the MSSR to reach Romania. As noted, they often complained that their requests for travel to Romania were not approved. That is why, just like their Romanian colleagues, they tried to capitalize on any pretext to get research trips in the neighboring country. Thus, in 1970 the Institute of Slavic and Balkan Studies in Moscow prepared for publication a synthesis of the history of Romania. Il'ia Budak, the head of the Institute of History in Kishinev, requested that the team of authors include four archaeologists and a historian from the MSSR. Those concerned were Isak Rafalovich, Ion Hîncu, Lazar' Polevoĭ, Pavel Bîrnea, and Pavel Sovetov, the latter being head of the medieval history sector at the Institute of History in Kishinev. Budak believed that the success of the synthesis rested on the research carried out by the archaeologists who needed to obtain permits for their research trips to Romania. Bent on facilitating the trip of the Moldovan specialists, Budak called for the support of the director of the Slavic and Balkan Institute in Moscow, Dmitriĭ Markov. In a letter dated November 12, 1970, Markov assured Budak of his support.[167] However, the archival documents and some oral testimonies show that from all archaeologists proposed by Budak, only Ion Hîncu and Lazar' Polevoĭ managed to reach Romania. Besides those two, Ion Niculiţă, professor and archaeologist at the State University of Kishinev, who specialized in Antiquity, also visited the neighboring country.[168] Despite all difficulties, it must be emphasized that the exchange of books, articles, letters, though very difficult, never stopped.[169]

166 Gheorghe Postică. e-mail message to author, March 11, 2015.

167 Dmitriĭ F. Markov, "Direktoru Instituta Istorii AN MSSR chlenu-korespondentu AN MSSR I.G. Budaku," in *Sviaz' i koordinatsiia s nauchnymi respublikanskimi uchrezhdeniiami v nauchno-issledovatel'skoĭ rabote vnutri SSSR i za rubezhom, 1970*. (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 101, 1970).

168 In the article dedicated to the relations between Romanian and Soviet archaeologists, I have mistakenly indicated that in 1970–1980 only two archaeologists (Lazar' Polevoĭ and Ion Niculiţă) were on study trips to Romania. Stamati, "Long live," 243; "Protokol zasedaniia Uchenogo soveta Instituta istorii ot 14 oktiabria 1971 g."; "Otchet o nauchnoĭ i nauchno-organizatsionnoĭ deiatel'nosti Otdela ėtnografii i iskustvovedeniia AN MSSR za 1974 god," in *Otchety o nauchnoĭ i nauchno-organizatsionnoĭ deiatel'nosti institutov otdelov Otdeleniia obshchestvennykh nauk za 1974 g.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1/1, Nr. 297, 1974); Gheorghe Postică. e-mail message to author, March 11, 2015.

169 Nicolae Constantinescu, pers.comm. by phone 2011; Gheorghe Postică. e-mail message to author, March 11, 2015.

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3 The Slavic Saga and the Date of the Appearance of the Vlachs on the Territory of the MSSR—the Official Version of the 1960s–1980s

3.1 *In Fedorov's Footsteps*

According to the Soviet archaeological literature published between 1960 to 1980, the Slavs came to the territory of the MSSR in the second or third century. Hidden under the name of Veneti, until the end of the fourth century, they coexisted with the Geto-Dacians, the Sarmatians, and the Goths. Fedorov's idea that at that time the number of the Slavic-Veneti was quite insignificant was adopted by the archaeologist Ėmmanuil Rikman, a native of Moscow who lived in the MSSR since 1952,[170] by Isak Rafalovich, as well as most other archaeologists of the MSSR.[171]

All the tribes mentioned above formed a society or a civilization welded by intertribal and interethnic bonds, but also by the common struggle against the interferences of the slave-based Roman empire.[172] By the end of the fourth century, the invasion of the Huns put an end to that intertribal and interethnic cooperation. Almost all the survivors of that invasion left the territory of the MSSR to settle closer to the Carpathians, or beyond the Danube. It is only an insignificant number of the old population that remained behind.[173] Because of the sparse population, when they arrived in large numbers in the sixth century or somewhat earlier (in the second half or in the late fifth century), the Slavs

170 Born in 1923 into a Jewish family of the Ukrainian region of Zhytomyr, Ėmmanuil Rikman was educated in Moscow where his family settled two years after his birth. He graduated in 1945 in History from the Moscow State University, and four years later he was appointed archaeologist at the Institute of the History of Material Culture. In 1950, he defended his candidate thesis in medieval archaeology. In the MSSR, even if he was interested in the Slavic problematic, he focused instead on the study of Cherniakhov culture. Sergiu Matveev and Adrian Pelivan, "In memoriam. Ė.A. Rikman, destinul unui savant," *Revista arheologică* 10/2 (2013): 279–289.

171 Rikman and Rafalovich, "K voprosu o sootnosheniĭ," 33; Ėmmanuil A. Rikman, *Ėtnicheskaia istoriia naseleniia Podnestrov'ia i prilegaiushchego Podunav'ia v pervykh vekakh nashei ery* (Moscow: Nauka, 1975), 326–328; [Ion Hîncu] Ivan G. Khynku, "Slaviane v Prutsko-Dnestrovskom mezhdurech'e," *Acta archaeologica. Academiae scientiarum hungaricae* 17 (1965): 11.

172 Rikman, *Ėtnicheskaia istoriia*, 302–331; Iakim S. Grosul and al., ed., *Moldavane. Ocherki istorii, ėtnografii, iskusstvovedeniia* (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1977), 14–15; Ėmmanuil A. Rikman and al., *Ocherki istorii kul'tury Moldavii, II–XIV vv.*. (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1971), 3–57.

173 Isak A. Rafalovich, *Slaviane VI–IX vekov v Moldavii* (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1972), 22–24.

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FIGURE 8
Ėmmanuil Rikman (1923–1987)
LICHNOE DELO, ĖMMANUIL ABRAMOVICH RIKMAN (AAȘRM. FOND 1, OPIS' 3, NR. 2685)

settled down without any obstacle.[174] The few remnants of the old population were quickly assimilated.[175]

According to Isak Rafalovich, the Slavs came to the MSSR from the Dnieper and Bug regions, and belonged to the tribe of the Antes. According to him, at the same time a smaller number of members of another Slavic tribe, the Sclavenes, came from northwestern Ukraine. Those Sclavenes, however, made up the majority of the population in the lands to the west of the river Prut, in Moldavia, as well as in Wallachia. The Prut—the border between Soviet Moldova and Romanian Moldavia—was therefore the border between Antes and Sclavenes.[176]

174 Ėmmanuil A. Rikman, "Sarmaty i plemena cherniakhovskoi kul'tury (I–IV vv.)," in *Drevniaia kul'tura Moldavii*, ed., Valentin S. Zelenchuk and al. (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1974), 80; Rikman and al., *Ocherki*, 58; Rafalovich, *Slaviane*, 42.

175 Isak A. Rafalovich, "Dnestrovsko-Karpatskie zemli v 6–11 v.v.," in *Moldavskaia sovetskaia sotsialisticheskaia respublika*, ed., Iosif K. Vartichian (Kishinev: Glavnaia redaktsiia Moldavskoĭ Sovetskoĭ entsiklopedii, 1979), 64.

176 Isak A. Rafalovich, "Moldaviia i puti rasseleniia slavian v Iugo-Vostochnoi Evrope," in *Iugo-Vostochnaia Evropa v Srednie veka*, ed., Il'ia G. Budak and al. (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1972), 7–21.

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At the beginning of the seventh century, the Antes faced the army of the Avars, a nomadic people from the East. The Antes were defeated, but they did not leave the territory of the MSSR as was the case with the former population defeated by the Huns. On the contrary, the Antes continued to live on the territory of the MSSR, later turning into Tivertsy.[177] However, the Avars weakened them. That was why, according to Rafalovich, they could not prevent the arrival, in the late seventh or early eighth century, of another great wave of Slavs whose initial goal was to settle in the Balkans. However, seeing that the road to the peninsula of their dreams was already barred on the Danube by the Bulgars, they had to stop on the territory of the future MSSR. Thus, a new Slavic wave was added to the ancient Slavs, the Antes, and contributed to the final Slavization of this territory.[178]

Fedorov's idea that in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the center and northern parts of the MSSR was part of Kievan Rus, and that between the ninth and the eleventh century the south was part of Bulgaria, remained in force as well.[179] Equally perpetuated was another one of Fedorov's ideas concerning the arrival in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries of the "Halychian Vygontsy", a Slavic tribe from Halych-Volhynia.[180] According to Pavel Bîrnea, Isak Rafalovich and Lazar' Polevoĭ, the "Halychian Vygontsy" arrived on the territory of the future MSSR in large numbers in the late twelfth century. They found a territory devastated by nomads who had raided it almost regularly from the late tenth century onwards. However, the ancient Slavs who lived there since the fifth and sixth centuries, as well as those who had settled in the late seventh or early eighth century, did not disappear.[181] They took refuge in the border areas of Halych-Volhynia, as well as in the hills of the MSSR, the latter believed to have been covered at that time by ancient forests. Towards the ninth and tenth centuries, they evolved and turned into ancient Rus'.[182]

According to the Soviet archaeologists from the MSSR, the "Halychian Vygontsy" shared the territory of the MSSR not only with the old Russians, but

177 Rafalovich, "Moldaviia i puti." 27–31.

178 Rafalovich, *Slaviane*, 41–42.

179 [Cebotarenco] Chebotarenko, *Kalfa*; [Bîrnea] Byrnia and Rafalovich, "Problemy ėtnicheskoi istorii," 86; Valentin S. Zelenchuk and Lazar' L. Polevoĭ, "Rasselenie vostochnoromanskogo naseleniia v Dnestrovsko-Prutskom mezhdurech'e (XIV–XV vv.)," in *Slaviano-moldavskie sviazi i rannie ėtapy ėtnicheskoi istorii moldavan*, ed., Valentin S. Zelenchuk and al. (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1983), 116.

180 [Bîrnea] Byrnia and Rafalovich, "Problemy ėtnicheskoi istorii," 88.

181 [Bîrnea] Byrnia and Rafalovich, "Problemy ėtnicheskoi istorii," 87–88; Zelenchuk and Polevoĭ, "Rasselenie," 116.

182 [Bîrnea] Byrnia and Rafalovich, "Problemy ėtnicheskoi istorii," 87; Zelenchuk and Polevoĭ, "Rasselenie," 116–117.

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also with other ethnic groups that had like them settled there. Unlike the former Russians who were farmers, the "Halychian Vygontsy" and other ethnic groups present at the time in the MSSR were transhumant pastoralists. It is precisely because of that that those people were capable of occupying the lands devastated by nomadic warriors. Their mobility and the fact that they were not tied to the land made it easier for them to flee the incursions of nomadic peoples.[183]

The famous Mongol invasion of 1241 devastated the territory of the MSSR again, causing another demographic disaster. However, the "Halychian Vygontsy" and the old Russians did not disappear from the MSSR. At any rate, according to Polevoĭ, the new demographic cataclysm had no long-term consequences, because the introduction of the *pax mongolica* and the integration of a part of the territory of the MSSR into the Golden Horde helped revive, from the late thirteenth century onwards, the settlement network not only in that, but also in neighboring territories, such certain regions of the Romanian Moldavia.[184] The new settlements were established by Slavic newcomers. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, according to Polevoĭ, because of the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans, a number of Serbian and Bulgarian refugees came to Moldavia as well. Polevoĭ also believed that, on the other hand, the Polish conquest of Halych-Volhynia triggered a Ruthenian emigration, with Moldavian princes welcoming many of those Ruthenian migrants in their own country.[185]

As for Moldovans, the ancestral territory of their nearest ancestors, the Vlachs, was allegedly in Transylvania, that is within the limits of the ancient Roman province of Dacia, as well as in Moesia, south of the Lower Danube.[186] In some of their works, Georgiĭ Fedorov and his ex-student Gheorghe Cebotarenco admitted that the Vlachs could have entered the territory of the MSSR as early as the late eighth or in the early ninth century, as they were coming from the lands to the south from the river Danube which were at that time under Bulgar rule.[187] However, Fedorov, Cebotarenco and other

183 Zelenchuk and Polevoĭ, "Rasselenie," 116.

184 Lazar' L. Polevoĭ, "Pamiatniki zolotoordynskogo vremeni (XIV v.)," in *Drevniaia kul'tura Moldavii*, ed., Valentin S. Zelenchuk and al. (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1974), 151–153; Zelenchuk and Polevoĭ, "Rasselenie," 117–119.

185 Polevoĭ, *Ocherki*, 29–41.

186 Iakim S. Grosul, and al., ed. *Moldavane*, 16; Ėmmanuil A. Rikman, "Nekotorye voprosy romanizatsii naseleniia levoberezh'ia Nizhnego Dunaia v pervoi polovine I tysiacheletiia n.e.," in *Slaviano-Voloshskie sviazi*, ed., Nikolaĭ A. Mokhov and al. (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1978), 46–64.

187 Fedorov and [Cebotarenco] Chebotarenko, "Kul'tura pervogo Bolgarskogo tsarstva," 28–29; Fedorov and Salmanovich, "Ėtnokul'turnye kompleksy," 55.

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Moldovan archaeologists, with the notable exception of Ion Hîncu, preferred a later date for those events, either the thirteenth or even the fourteenth century. According to Bîrnea, the Vlach colonization of historical Moldavia took place in two stages. The first began in the eleventh or twelfth centuries, with Vlachs leaving Transylvania because of the Hungarian expansion, and settling the land between the Carpathians and the Prut river—the territory of the Romanian Moldavia. The second stage began in the thirteenth or the fourteenth century, when the Vlachs moved across the Prut to the territory of the MSSR.[188] In their new homeland, they found a Slavic population—the ancient Rus and the "Halychian Vygontsy"—which had been decimated and weakened. That is why the Vlachs became so easily the new masters of that territory.[189]

3.2 *Why did the Moldovan Archaeologists Continue to Believe that the First Slavs Came to the Territory of the MSSR in the Second or Third Century?*

Rikman and Rafalovich were ready to admit that there were no Slavs on the territory of the future MSSR before the fifth and sixth centuries. Rikman wrote that much in a short article published in the second half of the 1950s,[190] while Rafalovich affirmed that position at a meeting of the Scientific Council of the Institute of History on March 25, 1971.[191] There were apparently certain similarities between the second- to late fourth-century Cherniakhov culture, on

188 [Pavel Bîrnea] Pavel P. Byrnia, *Sel'skie poseleniia Moldavii XV–XVII vv*. (Kishinev: Izdatel'stvo TsK KP Moldavii, 1969), 25–38.

189 [Bîrnea] Byrnia, *Sel'skie poseleniia*, 25–38; Fedorov and Salmanovich, "Ėtnokul'turnye kompleksy," 65; Georgiĭ D. Smirnov, "Zaselenie romanizovannymi plemenami Pruto-Dnestrovskogo mezhdurech'ia v svete arkheologicheskikh materialov," in *Materialy i issledovaniia po arkheologii Iugo-Zapada SSSR i Rumynskoi narodnoi respubliki*, ed., E. Konduraki and al. (Kishinev: Kartia moldoveniaskė, 1960), 309–316; Zelenchuk and Polevoĭ, "Rasselenie," 120.

190 Ėmmanuil A. Rikman, "Raskopki u sela Budeshty i problema ėtnicheskogo sostava naseleniia Moldavii v pervykh stoletiiakh n.e.," in *Iubileinaia nauchnaia sessiia soveta filiala, posviashchennaia 40-letiiu velikoi oktiabr'skoi sotsialisticheskoi revoliutsii. Tezisy dokladov, sektsiia istorii i arkheologii*, ed. Moldavskii Filial Akademii Nauk SSSR (Kishinev: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo Moldavii, 1957), 5.

191 During that meeting, which had been summoned, among other things, to approve the publication of his monograph, *The Sixth- to Ninth-Century Slavs in Moldova*, his colleague at the Institute, the historian Ivan Antsupov specifically asked him whether or not he believed in the existence of any non-Slavic population on the territory of the MSSR before the sixth century. His answer was crystal-clear, "We can talk about [the presence of] the Slavs on this territory only from the sixth century." "Protokol № 4 zasedaniia Uchenogo soveta Instituta istorii AN MSSR ot 25 marta 1971 g.," in *Protokoly zasedanii Uchenogo soveta Instituta za 1971 g*. (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 103, 1971).

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one hand, and the sixth- to seventh-century Pen'kovka culture attributed to the Slavs.[192] As a consequence, Rikman and Rafalovich changed their minds, and began claiming that the Slavs, few as they may have been, had been present on the territory of the future MSSR long before the fifth or sixth centuries.[193] Both archaeologists, like Fedorov, were guided in their (new) interpretation by the "retrospective" method. Like Fedorov, Rikman and Rafalovich relied on the Peutinger Map.[194] It was that source that led the two archaeologists to the conclusion that the Slavs, after all, might have been present on the territory of the future MSSR before the fifth or sixth centuries.

However, it is also possible that the two archaeologists did not want to challenge Fedorov's opinion on this matter. Rafalovich was his former student and, according to some, he had always remained very faithful to him.[195] Rikman was also indebted to Fedorov. In the years 1949–1952, he had worked at the Institute of Archaeology in Moscow as Fedorov's colleague. In 1952, because of the anti-Semitism of the last Stalinist years, he had to leave his job and it was Fedorov who helped him come to the MSSR, where he continued to work as an archaeologist until 1968, when he returned to Moscow.[196] Political and ideological pressure may have also played a role in Rafalovich and Rikman's change of mind, since from 1960 to 1970, the tendency of Romanian historians to minimize or to deny the importance of the Slavs in the history of the region had already become visible.

3.3 *Why was the Territory of the Future MSSR Almost Depleted of Population before the Arrival of the First Large Wave of Slavs?*

The political and ideological context contributed greatly to the idea of a demographic collapse on the territory of the MSSR before the arrival of the first

192 Such similarities pertained only to the pottery from both cultures. Rikman and Rafalovich, "K voprosu o sootnosheniĭ," 42–57.

193 In his 1972 book, Rafalovich cited an article he had published in 1965 together with Rikman, in which they admitted the early presence on the territory of the MSSR of a few Slavs since the third or fourth century. That opinion then appeared in other publications of Rafalovich. Rafalovich, *Slaviane*, 23; Rikman and Rafalovich, "K voprosu o sootnosheniĭ," 42–57; Rafalovich, "Moldaviia i puti," 19–20; Rafalovich, "Slaviane VI–IX vv.," 38; [Bîrnea] Byrnia and Rafalovich, "Problemy ėtnicheskoi," 84.

194 Rafalovich, *Slaviane*, 23; Rikman and Rafalovich, "K voprosu o sootnosheniĭ," 42–57; Rikman, *Ėtnicheskaia istoriia*, 326–328.

195 Mark Tkachuk, interview by Iurie Stamati, 2010, audio.

196 Rabinovich, "Ulichi i Tivertsy," 275–278; Tkachuk, "Georgiĭ Borisovich," 9; "Otchet o nauchno-issledovatel'skoĭ i organizatsionnoĭ rabote sektora arkhkheologii Instituta istorii AN MSSR za 1968 g.," in *Otchety o nauchnoĭ deiatel'nosti Instituta za 1968.* (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 85, 1968).

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great wave of Slavs. The underlying assumptions supported by the official historiography was that the Slavs, and not the Dacians or the Daco-Romans (as Romanian historians had it) were the oldest, native population of Moldavia.[197]

However, I believe that there is more to this matter than the political and ideological pressure. Indeed, the idea of could also be explained in terms of the methodology that archaeologists used. According to Rikman, several artefacts with chronological value, identified on the sites of the Cherniakhov culture in the MSSR, pointed to the late fourth or early fifth century as the final date of occupation on those sites. The end of the Cherniakhov culture, which had such an impressive array artefacts and had covered such a large territory, could only be explained by a tailor-made cataclysm. That cataclysm could have only been the invasion of the Huns, an event of great historical purport, which, according to Greek and Latin sources, took place in the 370s. According to Rikman, four coin hoards from the MSSR with the *terminus post quem* (the date of the latest coin) around that date was sufficient proof that the Hunic invasion mentioned in the sources have touched the territory of the MSSR, since coin hoards must have been buried (and never retrieved) at times of imminent and serious danger. For that reason, Rikman simply dismissed artefacts dated after 370, the presence of which suggested that some sites of the Cherniakhov culture in the MSSR continued to be occupied until the end of the fifth or the early sixth century.[198]

It is also important to note that for a long time Rafalovich, who was the leading Moldovan specialist in the study of the Pen'kovka culture, dated that culture between the sixth and the seventh centuries. According to him, Pen'kovka was the archaeological expression of the first Great Slavic wave represented by the Slavic Antes. In the early 1970s, however, Rafalovich first identified an artefact, a bronze mirror of the so-called "Chmi-Brigetio" type, which strongly suggested a date within the fifth century for the beginning of that archaeological culture.[199] By the middle of the same decade, more artefacts came to light that supported that early date. The beginning of Pen'kovka culture and the arrival of the first great Slavic wave to the territory of the MSSR were therefore pushed back to the late fifth century.[200]

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197 Hîncu and Postică, "Despre greșeli," 3–17; Postică, *Românii din codrii*, 6–8.

198 Rikman, *Ėtnicheskaia istoriia*, 235–243.

199 Isak A. Rafalovich, "Issledovaniia ranneslavianskikh poselenii v Moldavii," *Arkheologicheskie issledovaniia v Moldavii v 1970–1971 gg.* (1973): 150–153.

200 Isak A. Rafalovich, "Kul'tura slavian Moldavii (VI–IX vv.)," in *Drevniaia kul'tura Moldavii*, ed. Valentin S. Zelenchuk and al. (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1974), 8; Isak A. Rafalovich, "K voprosu o stepeni vliianiia Vizantii na material'nuiu kul'turu naseleniia Karpato-Dnestrovskikh zemel' v VI–IX vv.," in *Karpato-Dunaiskie zemli v srednie veka*, ed., Iakim S. Grosul

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None of those artefacts, however, could be dated with such precision to the late fifth century.[201] Moldovan archaeologists adopted that date simply because it seemed relevant to them. There was a century-long chasm between the Cherniakhov and the Pen'kovka cultures, that the new date for the beginning of the latter now made clearly visible. In my opinion, and in the eyes of most Moldovan archaeologists, only a chronological gap like that could explain why the Pen'kovka culture had so few similarities with the Cherniakhov culture.[202] A century-long gap between the two cultures meant that bearers of the Cherniakhov culture had completely or almost completely disappeared long before the arrival of the bearers of the Pen'kovka culture. There was no contact between the two populations.[203]

The idea that the territory of the MSSR had been depopulated before the arrival of the first Great Slavic wave was also supported by the number of sites of the Cherniakhov and Pen'kovka cultures, respectively. At the beginning of the 1970s, Rafalovich counted 500 sites of the Cherniakhov culture on the territory of the MSSR and only 30 of the Pen'kovka culture. According to Rikman and Rafalovich, that disparity could not be explained by the state of research, because the sites of two cultures were often within one and the same area, and archaeologists could have hardly missed the ones while finding the others.[204]

3.4 *Why had the Antes Been a Majority and the Sclavenes a Minority on the Territory of the MSSR?*

According to the Soviet historiography, the fifth- to sixth-century Slavs in the southern region of Eastern Europe were divided into two branches or tribal unions—the Sclavenes and the Antes.[205] This was ultimately based on the

(Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1975), 7, 15; Sovetov and al., ed., *Istoriia narodnogo khoziaistva*, 46; Isak A. Rafalovich and N.V. Gol'tseva, "Ranneslavianskoe poselenie VII vv. Dancheny I," *Arkheologicheskie issledovaniia v Moldavii* 1974–1976 gg. (1981), 125–140.

201 In an article published in a volume commissioned by the Committee created in 1970 to answer the claims of the Romanian historiography, Bîrnea and Rafalovich (or their censors) opted for an even earlier date, namely the second half of the fifth century. [Bîrnea] Byrnia and Rafalovich, "Problemy ėtnicheskoi istorii," 84.

202 As noted previously, the similarities consisted mainly of certain ceramic shapes identified in assemblages from sites of both cultures.

203 In his works, Rafalovich noticed that the sites belonging to the Pen'kovka culture sometimes produced a very small number of Cherniakhov-type pottery remains. This he interpreted as proof that a much diminished population had survived the invasion of the Huns and was quickly assimilated by the Slavs. Rafalovich, "Dnestrovsko-Karpatskie," 63–64.

204 Rikman and Rafalovich, "K voprosu o sootnosheniĭ," 50–51.

205 Mavrodin, "Ocherk istorii," 8; Liapushkin, *Slaviane vostochnoi Evropy*, 10–11; Sedov, *Proiskhozhdenie i ranniaia*.

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testimony of Jordanes who in his *Getica*, written in the sixth century, appeared to say that the Sclavenes and the Antes had the same origin.[206]

In the 1950s, Soviet archaeologists began to distinguish two archaeological cultures roughly dated at the same time (fifth to seventh century), and attributed each one of them to the one of the two Slavic branches. The Pen'kovka culture, which I have already mentioned, was attributed to the Antes. The other culture, called Prague, was attributed to the Sclavenes. According to Soviet archaeologists, some artefacts were common to both cultures, others were not.[207] According to Rafalovich, sunken-floored buildings with an oven in the corner were characteristic for both cultures. It was the shape of the pots that made the two cultures different. The Pen'kovka pot had a typically barrel-like shape, while the Prague-type was a tall, ovoid pot. Both pot types were made by hand.[208]

Jordanes had made the Dniester was the boundary between the Antes and the Sclavenes—with the former on the right, and the latter on the left bank of the river. However, as mentioned above, Rafalovich contradicted Jordanes. According to him, the border between the two Slavic groups was not the Dniester, but the Prut, the river that also divided Soviet Moldova from Romanian Moldavia.[209] According to Rafalovich, there were very few Prague-type pots in the MSSR, where the Pen'kovka type was predominant. Conversely, the latter ceramic type was almost absent from Romanian Moldavia, where the Prague type was quite common. From that, Rafalovich drew the conclusion that on the territory of Soviet Moldova the Antes were the main Slavic population, and that the border with the Sclavenes was on the Prut, and not on the Dniester. Rafalovich apparently opposed the archaeological evidence to that culled from the *Getica* of Jordanes. However, the "archaeological evidence" was rather the result of the utilitarian approach to the medieval history of the MSSR. In other words, the hidden purpose of this argument was dictated by a specific ideological directive, that of constructing a history different from that of the Romanian Moldavia. Moreover, in his dissertation published in 1972, Rafalovich noted how difficult it was to establish the ratio of two types of pottery on sites from the MSSR. For that to happen, one needed a larger number of whole

206 The identification of Slavs with the Sclavenes was accepted by all Soviet archaeologists. As for the Antes, most scholars also believed them to be Slavs. However, according to Irina Rusanova, one of the most important Soviet archaeologists specializing in the Slavic problem, the Antes were a non-Slavic population that had been Slavicized during the sixth and seventh centuries. Irina P. Rusanova, *Slavianskie drevnosti VI–VII vv., Kul'tura prazhskogo tipa.* Moscow: Nauka, 1976, 85–112.

207 Sedov, *Proiskhozhdenie i ranniaia*, 101–133.

208 Rafalovich, "Moldaviia i puti," 12–17; Rafalovich, *Slaviane*, 59–86.

209 Rafalovich, "Moldaviia i puti," 7–21.

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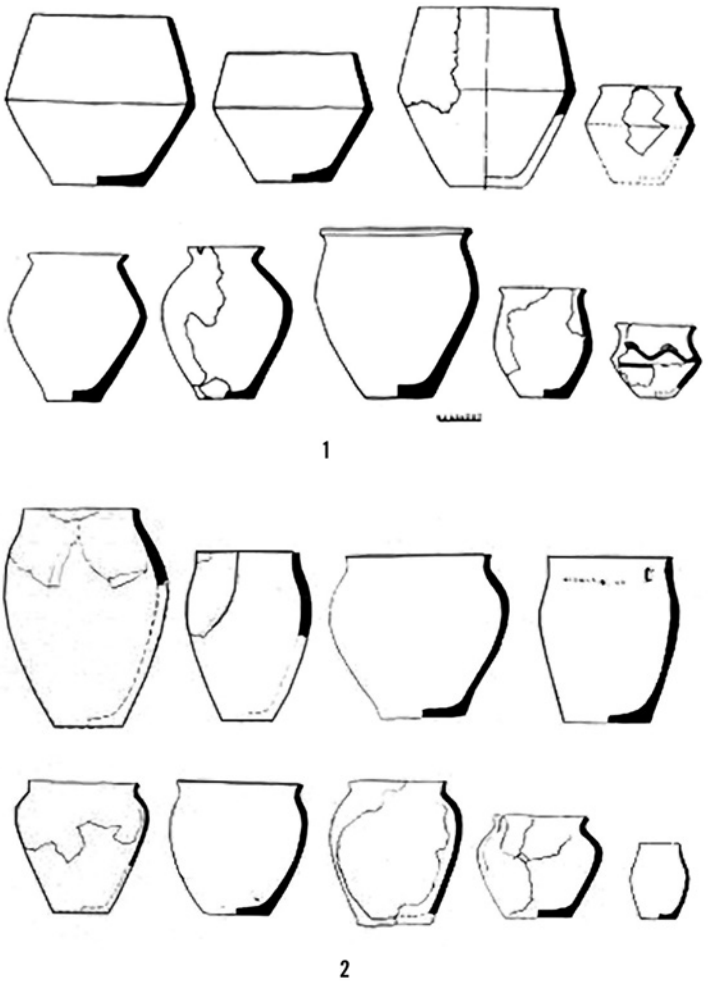

FIGURE 9 1 – Pen'kovka type pottery. 2 – Prague type pottery
ISAK A. RAFALOVICH, *SLAVIANE VI–IX VEKOV V MOLDAVII* (KISHINEV: SHTIINTSA, 1972)

vessels, whereas no more than 50 were available at that time. The temper and production techniques were identical for both types, a fact that made the cultural attribution of potsherds very difficult, if not impossible. Notwithstanding his own caveats, Rafalovich presented a statistics according to which on the sites of the MSSR, the Pen'kovka-type pottery constituted 25 to 40 percent of all ceramic finds. There is no explanation for how that percentage was established, nor are there any details about what kind of pottery constituted the remaining percentage. Rafalovich had no illustrations, but claimed that apart

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from the Prague type which occupied the second position after the Pen'kovka type, sites in the MSSR had produced other ceramic forms, such as bowls, clay pans, and trays.[210]

The utilitarian approach was more visible in another article that Rafalovich published the same year. In that article, he took up the question of the location of the two Slavic groups, only to reach the same conclusion as that of his thesis, that the Prut and not the Dniester was the border between the Antes and the Sclavenes.[211] On the other hand, there is no mention any more of difficulties encountered in the cultural attribution.[212] It should be noted that the article appeared in a volume published under the aegis of the Scientific Committee set up in 1970 to respond to the claims of the Romanian historiography. The article in question was therefore supposed to abide by the Committee's mission requirements, which may well explain the disappearance of any qualms about the cultural attribution of the pottery. That both in Soviet Moldova and in Romania Moldavia, two types of pottery, two archaeological cultures, and two Slavic groups or tribal unions were documented archaeologically was in the eyes of the Soviet propaganda and irrefutable proof that the two regions did not share the same history, and that, therefore, the claims of the Romanian propaganda concerning Bessarabia had no factual basis.

In another article published in a volume under the aegis of that Committee, Rafalovich and Bîrnea went even further. The fifth and sixth centuries was not the only period during which Soviet Moldova and Romanian Moldavia had different historical evolutions. Differences in the history of the two regions could be recognized already for the fourth and third centuries BC, and persisted until

210 Apart from the hand-made pottery attributed to the Slavs, Rafalovich noted the presence of wheel-made pottery, which he believed to be imported. As shown above, according to Maria Comşa, the co-occurrence on the same sites of hand- and wheel-made pottery was a sign of the cohabitation of the Slavs and Romance-speaking population. Rafalovich, *Slaviane*, 139, 141 and 146–157.

211 Rafalovich, "Moldaviia i puti," 7–31.

212 Until the late 1960s, archaeologists had identified the Prague-type on sites in the Romanian Moldavia. But by the early 1970s, some Romanian archaeologists believed that only the Pen'kovka type had been found, with no specimens of the Prague type. Others noted the presence of two types, but with no ratios. Maria Comșa, "Discuții în legătură cu pătrunderea și așezarea slavilor pe teritoriul R.P.R.," *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche* 1/11 (1960): 159–160; Comșa, "Sur l'origine," 356–361; Maria Comșa, "Unele considerații privind situația de la Dunărea de Jos în secolele VI–VII," *Apulum* 12 (1974): 306; [Maria Comșa] Maria Kishvasi-Komsha, "Nekotorye istoricheskie vyvody v sviazi s neskol'kimi arkheologicheskimi pamiatnikami VI–XII vv. n.e. na territorii RNR," *Dacia* 1 (1957): 327; Matei, "Contribuții la cunoașterea," 412; Teodor, "Regiunile răsăritene ale României," 192–194; Dan Gh. Teodor, "Contribuții privind pătrunderea și stabilirea slavilor în teritoriile extracarpatice ale României," *Carpica* 5 (1972): 108.

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the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when the Moldavian medieval state emerged.[213]

3.5 *Why were not the Slavic Antes Annihilated, after being Defeated by the Avars?*

In the early seventh century, the Byzantine historian Theophylact Simocatta noted an Avar expedition against the Antes that took place in 602. This was the last time the Antes appeared in the sources.[214] From an archaeological point of view, according to Rafalovich, the Pen'kovka culture left by the Antes was chronologically followed by another Slavic culture called Luka-Raikovetskaia (named so after two archaeological sites in northwestern Ukraine).[215] On the territory of the MSSR, the latter culture was dated between the late seventh and the turn of the ninth century. According to the Moscow archaeologist Irina Rusanova, however, the Luka-Raikovetskaia pottery had nothing to do with the Pen'kovka potter, but was genetically linked to the Prague-type pottery.[216] The appearance of the Luka-Raikovetskaia culture was the result of the evolution of the Prague-type pottery. Indeed, ceramic forms attributed to the Luka-Raikovetskaia culture were indeed regarded as similar to the Prague-type pottery, which probably convinced Rafalovich to adopt Rusanova's views.[217]

The absence of any mention of the Antes in the written sources after 602, as well as the disappearance of the Pen'kovka type of pottery should have led Rafalovich to the natural conclusion that the Antes had been destroyed, much like the fourth-century bearers of the Cherniakhov culture. Instead, he claimed that the Antes had only been weakened, which allowed another Slavic group to settle among them.[218] In my opinion, there is no other way to explain such inconsistency than ideological or political concerns.

213 [Bîrnea] Byrnia and Rafalovich, "Problemy ėtnicheskoi istorii," 79–98.

214 Curta, *Aparițiа slavilor*, 91–92.

215 Rafalovich, "Moldaviia i puti," 7–31; Rafalovich, *Slaviane*, 10–157.

216 Irina P. Rusanova, "Slavianskie pamiatniki vtoroi poloviny I tys. n.e. na severo-zapade Ukrainy i Iuge Belorusii," in *Drevnosti Belorussii. Materialy konferentsii po arkheologii Belorussii i smezhenykh territorii* (*1966 g.*), ed., Vladimir F. Isaenko and al. (Minsk: Akademiia Nauk BSSR, 1966), 186.

217 Rafalovich, *Slaviane*, 145.

218 The idea that a new Slavic wavehad entered the territory of the MSSR was based on the appearance of pottery of the Luka-Raikovetskaia type. [Bîrnea] Byrnia and Rafalovich, "Problemy ėtnicheskoi istorii," 85–86; Rafalovich, "Moldaviia i puti," 27–31.

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3.6 *Why did not All the Ancient Rus Leave the Territory of the Future MSSR in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries?*

It is also for ideological reasons that in publications of the same Scientific Committee, Bîrnea and Rafalovich recognized that by the mid-twelfth century, the occupation on many sites attributed to the ancient Rus' ceased, but refused to draw the necessary conclusion that that population must have been completely exterminated or driven out of the territory of future MSSR.[219] As noted, according to them, the ancient Rus' took refuge on the borders of Halych-Volhynia and in the primeval forests of the uplands in the MSSR.

Their colleague, Polevoĭ, was also of the opinion that some of the Slavs or ancient Rus' had fled to the forests.[220] In the whole of historical Moldavia, that is in both Romanian Moldavia and Soviet Moldova, Polevoĭ noted the existence of eight archaeological sites on which occupation continued well into the mid-twelfth, if not even into the early thirteenth century. Yet neither he nor other archaeologists had ever conducted special studies that would have supported such a late date, or the idea that the number of individuals living on those sites after the mid-twelfth century increased as a result of the arrival of people who had until then been hidden in the forests because of nomadic invasions. Moldovan archaeologists did not have at their disposal special studies to show that at the time those sites were inhabited, they were indeed surrounded by primeval forests, and that those forests constituted a real barrier for the nomads.

3.7 *Were the "Halychian Vygontsy" Really Transhumant Pastoralists?*

I have noted that the "Halychian Vygontsy" were mentioned in Rus' written sources only once, on the occasion of the famous Battle of Kalka in 1223, and in Byzantine sources, as allies of Emperor John Asan II of Bulgaria (1218–1241).[221] However, none of those sources has anything to say about their type of economy being based on transhumance. The archaeological data cited by Polevoĭ, Bîrnea, or Rafalovich contains no evidence about that either. The idea that the "Halychian Vygontsy" were shepherds who practiced transhumance is therefore a pure fabrication. Its authors, the Moldovan ethnologist Valentin Zelenchuk and the archaeologist Lazar' Polevoĭ, used it to show how, despite being depopulated because of nomadic invasions between the late tenth century

219 [Pavel Bîrnea] Pavel P. Byrnia, "K voprosu o keramike galitskogo tipa na territorii Moldavii," in *Dolekoe proshloe Moldavii*, ed., Akademia Nauk MSSR (Kishinev: Redaktsionno-izdatel'skii otdel Akademii nauk Moldavskoĭ SSR, 1969), 98; [Bîrnea] Byrnia and Rafalovich, "Problemy ėtnicheskoi istorii," 87.

220 Polevoĭ, *Ocherki*, 26; Zelenchuk and Polevoĭ, "Rasselenie," 115–116.

221 Pashuto, *Ocherki*, 169.

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and the early thirteenth century, the territory of the MSSR still attracted the "Halychian Vygontsy."[222] Being transhumant pastoralists, those Slavs could remain mobile, according to the two authors, and therefore avoid the raids of the nomads. This was meant to show that on the territory of Moldova, before the rise of the medieval state, the Slavs were still the most persistent population. Zelenchuk and Polevoĭ's article appeared in a volume published under the aegis of the same Committee of 1970, which is further proof of the political charge of the authors' fabrication.

3.8 *Why were the "Halychian Vygontsy" not the Last Slavs Settled in Moldova?*

In the Soviet historiographical tradition, including that of Moldova, the Mongol invasion was depicted as real storm, a dramatic event that upset the demographic situation, as well as the political, economic, and cultural development of the "Russian lands." In the opinion of Soviet archaeologists and historians, the invasion and its consequences were the single and only necessary explanation for Russia's lagging behind Western Europe.[223] Given that the territory of the future MSSR was regarded as an integral part of the "Russian lands," Polevoĭ could not fail to note the catastrophe that the Mongols had inflicted upon that territory, even if he had no archaeological argument in support of his claim.[224] This was indeed unlike the situation in Russia and Ukraine, where archaeological excavations had by then already brought to light clear traces of destruction caused by the Mongols.[225]

In view of the official Romanian historiographical stance on the subject, Moldovan archaeologists could not accept the idea of a total or almost complete disappearance of the Slavic population from the territory of the MSSR. On the contrary, according to them, other Slavic groups migrated to the region.

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222 Zelenchuk and Polevoĭ, "Rasselenie," 116.

223 Udal'tsov and Cherepnin, ed., *Istoriia Moldavii*, 70–76; Vadim V. Kargalov, *Mongolo-tatarskoe nashestvie na Rus' XIII vek* (Moscow: Prosveshchenie, 1966); Aresenii N. Nasonov, *Mongoly i Rus', istoriia tatarskoi politiki na Rusi* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1940: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR).

224 In the introduction to a catalogue of medieval archaeological sites in the MSSR, published in 1974, Polevoĭ and Bîrnea recognized that the impact of the Mongol invasion on local civilization had not been systematically studied. At the beginning of the 1980s, the topic still awaited its scholar. However, in a chapter of a volume published by the Committee created in 1970, Polevoĭ and Zelenchuk were convinced that the Mongols had caused a demographic disaster on the territory of the future MSSR. Lazar' L. Polevoĭ and [Pavel Bîrnea] Pavel P. Byrnia, *Srednevekovye pamiatniki XIV–XVII vv.* (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1974), 7; Zelenchuk and Polevoĭ, "Rasselenie," 117.

225 Kargalov, *Mongolo-tatarskoe*, 34–120.

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The presence of the Slavs on the territory of the MSSR after the Mongol invasion was supposedly demonstrated by a ceramic type attributed to the "Halychian Vygontsy," and another believed to be of "Slavic tradition" and dated to the fourteenth century.[226]

However, the material culture from sites dated after the mid-thirteenth century is quite different from the previous civilization attributed to the Slavs, or to the ancient Rus. For example, the sunken-floored building with stone oven, long regarded as a marker of the Slavs, disappeared completely. On fourteenth-century sites, sunken-floored buildings had either clay ovens in the eastern fashion, or ovens built of brick or stone coated on the inside with clay.[227] That is why Moldovan Soviet archaeologists had to find other, more credible arguments in favor of the Slavic presence on the territory of the MSSR.[228] According to Polevoĭ, the presence of Serbs and Bulgarians on the Moldovan territory during the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries resulted from place names mentioning either one or the other ethnonym, as well as from some written sources.[229] The presence of Ruthenians was supposedly demonstrated by the story recorded in the seventeenth century by Simion Dascălul.[230] Polevoĭ mentioned a charter of Prince Alexăndrel of Moldavia, which is dated 1453, and in which the right is granted to a monastery to establish a village on its estate, which was to be populate with individuals either of local origin, or from Poland.[231]

3.9 *Why did the Vlachs Appear on the Territory of the MSSR during the Thirteenth and the Fourteenth Century?*

The earliest mention in the written sources of Vlachs in Moldavia is from the twelfth century. Soviet archaeologists and historians drew from that the conclusion that the Vlachs must have come to (Romanian) Moldavia in or shortly before the twelfth century.[232] However, according to Georgiĭ Smirnov, the first

226 Zelenchuk and Polevoĭ, "Rasselenie," 119; Lazar' L. Polevoĭ, "Arkheologicheskie materialy k istorii Moldavii XIV v." *Sovetskaia arkheologiia* 3 (1965): 69; Polevoĭ and [Bîrnea] Byrnia, *Srednevekovye pamiatniki*, 9.

227 [Pavel Bîrnea] Pavel P. Byrnia and Tat'iana A. Shcherbakova, "Kratkie itogi arkheologicheskikh issledovaniĭ v Starom Orkhee v 1971 g.," *Arkheologicheskie issledovaniia v Moldavii v 1970–1971 gg.* (1973): 207–208; [Pavel Bîrnea] Pavel P. Byrnia, "Usad'by remeslinikov XIV v. v Starom Orkhee," *Arkheologicheskie issledovaniia v Moldavii*, 1972 g. (1974): 184–198; Polevoĭ and [Bîrnea] Byrnia, *Srednevekovye pamiatniki*, 15–16.

228 Polevoĭ, *Ocherki*, 29–41; Zelenchuk and Polevoĭ, "Rasselenie," 119–124.

229 Polevoĭ, *Ocherki*, 29.

230 Polevoĭ, *Ocherki*, 32–33 and 38–39.

231 Polevoĭ, *Ocherki*, 41.

232 [Bîrnea] Byrnia, *Sel'skie poseleniia*, 27.

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head of the archaeological section of the Academy of Sciences in the MSSR, the Vlachs came to Soviet Moldova only in the first half of the fourteenth century. This late date was based on a type of pottery that he had identified on a site and that appeared to be very close to the pottery found on the sites in Romanian Moldavia, which were and dated to the same period.[233]

In turn, Pavel Bîrnea claimed that all his attempts had failed to find in the MSSR sites that could be attributed to Moldovans or Vlachs and dated earlier than the fourteenth century.[234] According to him, even the paleobotanical study carried out on samples collected from one of the archaeological sites of MSSR pointed to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as the date for the coming of the Vlachs. According to the study in question, at the crossroads of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the type of wheat grown by the occupants of the site changed, a fact that supposedly indicated the immigration of a new population. Houses with hearths that according to Bîrnea were not attested on the territory of the MSSR "in the period before" the fourteenth century were also a good indicator of newcomers.[235] That the territory of Soviet Moldova was populated by Vlachs later than the territory of the Romanian Moldavia resulted, according to Bîrnea, from the fact that still in fifteenth century the territory of Soviet Moldova was less populated than that of Romanian Moldavia. According to his calculations, only 15 percent of all fifteenth-century identified throughout the territory of historical Moldavia were located to the east from the river Prut.[236]

However, as noted, in the 1960s Fedorov and Cebotarenco had admitted that Vlachs came from the northern Balkans to the territory of the MSSR as early as the eighth or the early ninth century. That was explained in terms of the Bulgar expansion northwards, which was otherwise documented archaeologically by means of the Balkan-Danubian Culture identified in the southern part of the MSSR. Moreover, such an interpretation resonated with the opinions of prominent Soviet Byzantinists at that time, who believed that according to the written sources, there were Vlachs in the lands of the northern Balkans included into early medieval Bulgaria. Those Vlachs were regarded descendants of the Romanized population left behind after the disappearance of the Roman province of Dacia Ripensis, Upper Moesia, and Lower Moesia.[237]

233 Smirnov, "Zaselenie," 309–316.

234 *Protokol №. 10 rasshirennogo zasedaniia.*

235 [Bîrnea] Byrnia, *Sel'skie poseleniia*, 37.

236 Byrnia, *Sel'skie poseleniia*, 27–38 and 97–98.

237 Genadiĭ G. Litavrin, "Slaviane, vlakhi, rimliane i rimskie pastukhi vengerskogo 'Anonima," in *Iugo-Vostochnaia Evropa v srednie veka*, ed. by Il'ia G. Budak and al. (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1972), 91–138; Tat'iana D. Zlatkovskaia, "Nekotorye problemy ėtnogeneza vlakhov v sviazi

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It is important to remember at this point that according to the Romanian archaeologist Maria Comşa, that before the twelfth century written sources had nothing to say about the Romance-speaking population in the lands north of the Lower Danube was simply a consequence of the fact that those sources mentioned only the peoples that exercised political authority in the region. The Vlachs or proto-Romanians escaped the radar of the written sources, because they were subjugated population. According to Comşa, the presence in the southern part of historical Moldavia of a Romanized population before the arrival of the Slavic tribes was supported by the story of "phoney Chilbudios," who spoke Latin fluently, at least according to Procopius of Caesarea. Comşa's works were well known in the MSSR. In my opinion, Comșa's view of the medieval history of the region could have been validated by Moldovan historiography also, had the ideological or political context allowed it. But the way in which most Soviet archaeologists and historians, including Fedorov, dealt with the issue of the Vlachs on the territory of the MSSR was largely a function of the political tit-for-tat between the Soviet and Romanian historians. That much results from the remarks that the Moldovan Soviet historian Pavel Parasca, who specialized in medieval history, made at a meeting of the Bureau of the Social Sciences Section of the MSSR Academy of Sciences summoned on May 29, 1984 to discuss results obtained in study of the Moldovan ethnogenesis:

> Often with us it happens that way, if there is any argument of the presence of a Romanized population east of the Carpathians [Parasca had in mind here a period before the eleventh and the twelfth centuries], we are immediately warned that that fits with what the Romanian historiography claims, and that should not be the case for one reason: Soviet historiography speaks of the genesis of the Moldovan people, while Romanian historiography speaks of the genesis of the Romanian people and denies [the existence of] the Moldovan people.[238]

In the following pages, I will show that in addition to political constraints, the treatment of this topic was also marked by the competition and internal struggles taking place in the Moldovan historiography and archaeology. For some representatives of those fields, the stake of those struggles was the defense of their own places within the discipline, or what Pierre Bourdieu called "the

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s romanizatsiei Balkanskogo poluostrova v antichnoe vremia," in *Istoriograficheskie aspekty slaviano-voloshskikh sviazeĭ* (*Reziume dokladov sessii Nauchnogo soveta. 1973 g.*), ed. by Nikolaĭ A. Mokhov and al. (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1973), 5–10.

238 *Protokol №. 10 rasshirennogo zasedaniia*.

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monopoly of the scientific authority," while for others, it was the access to that "monopoly."

4 The "Ion Hîncu" Dossier

4.1 *The Aboriginality of the Moldovans According to Ion Hîncu*

Already at the beginning of his career, Ion Hîncu dissociated himself from his former teacher and comrades by showing an increased interest in the problem of the genesis of the Moldovan ethnic group and its material culture. In a variant of the introduction to his candidate thesis focused on the sixth- to seventeenth-century production of pottery on the territory of the MSSR, which he wrote between 1955 and 1958, he turned his attention to the subject of the Moldovan ethnogenesis. In so doing, he attracted the criticism of his peers.[239] The problem in question, however, remained an obsession throughout his career. From 1975, when he became head of the archaeological sector of the Academy of Sciences, until his dismissal in 1977, he placed it at the forefront of Moldovan archaeology. All the staff and all future employees of that institution had to dedicate their time to the study of ethnogenesis.[240] As shown below, he had the support of two superiors in that respect.

Although in most of his works Hîncu referred to the "Moldovan" ethnic group or people, at the beginning of his career he had some doubts about the existence of two separate ethnic groups—Moldovan and Romanian. In his works published under the Soviet regime, he never considered the question of that difference. However, in an article published in the late 1950s in which he was discussing the date at which the "Romanized population" made its appearance on the territory of the MSSR, he used the term "old Romanians."[241] That article was published in Ukraine, away from the watchful eye of the Moldovan Soviet censorship.

Be that as it may, the goal that Hîncu pursued with great tenacity was to demonstrate that those who were known to Soviet historians as Moldovans appeared after a process of ethnogenesis that took place entirely on the territory

239 "Protokol № 3 zasedaniia otdela arkheologii i ėtnografii ot 12 marta 1958g," in *Kniga protokolov otd. Arkheologii i ėtnografii, 1958 god.* (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 7, 1958).

240 "Protokol № 23 zasedaniia sektora arkheologii i drevneĭ istorii Instituta istorii AN MSSR ot 22 noiabria 1976 goda," in *Protokoly zasedanii otdela arkheologii za 1976 g.* (AAȘRM.Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 141, 1976).

241 [Ion Hîncu] Ivan G. Khynku, "K voprosu o srednevekovoi keramike Moldavii (po dannym raskopok 1957 g. na poselenii Lukashevka V. Orgeevskogo r-na MSSR)," *Materialy po arkheologii severnogo prichernomor'ia* 2 (1959): 95.

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of historical Moldavia, including the lands of Soviet Moldova, and not elsewhere. However, he was not able to demonstrate that idea in any clear and direct way in any of his publications from 1960 to 1970, not even in those published while he was at the head of the archaeological sector of the Academy of Sciences. In his memoirs Hîncu maintained that, in the second synthesis of history of the MSSR published in 1965, he wanted to present the ethnogenesis of the Moldovans as a process that took place entirely on the territory of the MSSR, but that he had to give up under the pressure of accusations of nationalism.[242] It is for that reason that his works published at the time contained only allusions to the idea that Moldovans were native to their own country.[243] Thus, in a study devoted to Moldavian ceramics which he began with a section on the Neolithic, Hîncu stated that the pottery "found on the territory of [Soviet] Moldova sheds light first and foremost on the history of the Moldovan people."[244] In this study, as well as in others, he tried to give credit to the idea that certain forms of pottery attributed to Geto-Dacians were perpetuated well into the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, when they (re)appear in the Moldavian ceramics.[245] Between the late 1950s and the mid-1960s, Hîncu admitted that the Romanized population (Vlachs) came to the territory of the MSSR at some point between the tenth and the fourteenth century. In reality, he had a completely different opinion, as demonstrated by his articles, in which he tended to bring the Vlachs over at an earlier date. For example, in one of those articles, he claimed that on the territory of the MSSR, the Romanized population appeared "between the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth century, and perhaps even before that."[246] In another article, without presenting any arguments, he hesitated between the tenth and the twelfth centuries.[247] In his memoirs, Hîncu also recounted that in his candidate thesis he had been of the opinion that on the territory of the MSSR, the

242 Hîncu, *Scara*, 56.

243 This finding invalidates the comments of his former-professor Fedorov, who even quoted certain of Hâncu's works noting that he would have clearly promoted the idea of autochthony of the Moldovans. Fedorov and Negrusha, "Slaviane," 52–53.

244 [Ion Hîncu] Ivan G. Khynku, "Formy bytovoi posudy i khudozhestvennaia keramika," in *Narodnoe dekorotivnoe iskustvo Moldavii*, ed., Valentin S. Zelenchuk and al. (Kishinev: Kartia moldoveniaskė, 1968), 81.

245 [Hîncu] Khynku, *Moldavskaia narodnaia*.

246 [Hîncu] Khynku, "K voprosu o srednevekovoi," 95.

247 [Hîncu] Khynku, "K voprosu o voloshsko-slavianskoĭ," 89. For another example of a similar hesitation, see, [Ion G. Hîncu] Ivan G. Khynku, "Selishche Lukashevka v XI–XV vv. (Itogi raskopok 1957–1959 gg.)," in *Materialy i issledovaniia po arkheologii i ėtnografii Moldavskoĭ SSR*, ed., Valentin S. Zelenchuk and al. (Kishinev: Kartia moldoveniaskė, 1964), 155 and 162.

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presence of the Vlachs was archaeologically documented well before the tenth century.[248] Moreover, from the mid-1960s onwards, he avoided any discussion about the date for the arrival of the Vlachs, which in my opinion was a form of expressing his disagreement with the official historiography.

All of Hîncu's works suggested that the "Daco-Romans" were the primary and oldest element in the genesis of the Moldovan people and material culture. However, archival documents show that in the late 1950s, he had hesitations and chose to give that status of primordiality to the Slavs. In an article written in 1958 that was peer-reviewed but never published in its original form, he wrote that the participation of the "Daco-Romans" in the Moldovan ethnogenesis was only secondary and a late phenomenon, dated to the thirteenth century.[249] I do not know how Hîncu argued his position, because I only had access to the discussions on that article and not to the article itself, but it seems that what interested him the most was to demonstrate the autochthony of Moldovans in Moldova, and not the antiquity of their Roman character. At that time, it may have appeared to easier, as well as more credible, to give Slavs the leading role in the Moldovan ethnogenesis. As noted, according to the official historiography, the Slavs not the Romanized population was presented as the most persistent and old ethnic element in the region.

In many respects Hîncu's position was greatly influenced by that of the Romanian archaeologist Maria Comşa. It was probably from her that he borrowed the term "old Romanians" when, at the end of the 1950s, he discussed the date at which the neo-Latin component of the Moldovan ethnogenesis made its appearance on the territory of the MSSR.[250] Another common element showing up in the writings of both archaeologists was the explanation for the lack of any mention of Vlachs in the written sources before the twelfth century. Like Maria Comşa, Hîncu also used the pottery of "Roman tradition" and the houses with open hearths as ethnic indicators for the Romanized population.[251]

248 Hîncu, *Scara*, 55.

249 "Protokol № 7 zasedaniia otdela arkheologii i ėtnografii In-ta istorii MF AN SSSR ot 3.IX.1958 g.," in *Kiniga protokolov otd. arkheologii i ėtnografii, 1958 god.* (AAȘRM. Fond 18. Opis' 1. Nr. 7, 1958).

250 In the article in which Hâncu used the term "Romanians," published in 1959, he mentioned a discussion he had with Maria Comșa about her 1958 article concerning the "old Romanians" on the territory of the historical Moldavia, including the territory of the MSSR. [Comșa] Chișvasi-Comșa, "Slavii de răsărit pe teritoriul R.P.R.," 82; [Hîncu] Khynku, "K voprosu o srednevekovoi," 95.

251 [Ion Hîncu] Ivan G. Khynku, "K voprosu o srednevekovoi keramike Moldavii (po dannym raskopok 1957 g. na poselenii Lukashevka V. Orgeevskogo r-na MSSR)," *Materialy po arkheologii severnogo prichernomor'ia* 2 (1959): 95; [Hîncu] Khynku, "K voprosu o voloshsko- slavianskoĭ," 87–89. In one of his early 1960s articles, inspired by Comșa, Hâncu argued

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The two archaeologists probably met in 1957,[252] when Comşa participated in Romanian-Soviet archaeological excavations in the territory of the MSSR, or even shortly before, in 1956 in Moscow, where both pursued their doctoral studies—Hîncu between 1954 and 1957,[253] and Comşa from 1952 to 1956.

It should also be pointed out that Hîncu's opinion on the material culture of the Vlachs changed several times. For a long time, Hîncu with a few rare exceptions avoided the topic of the Balkan-Danubian Culture. In the first half of the 1960s, he knew of only one archaeological culture on the territory of the MSSR that he called "Vlacho-Slavic." According to him, it consisted of three groups of elements of different ethnic traditions: the Romanized or Vlach elements[254] represented by the pottery so-called of "Roman tradition" and by house with open hearths, the East Slavic elements represented by a specific type of pottery[255] and houses with stone ovens and clay rolls (meant to maintain the heat inside the oven), and elements of South Slavic tradition represented by a specific type of pottery but also houses with stone ovens, but without clay rolls.[256] The East Slavic elements were to be associated, to Hîncu, with the Tivertsy, while the South Slavic elements signaled the presence of Vlachs who had adopted these elements from the south of the Danube. According to Hîncu, it was the evolution of that "Slavo-Vlach" culture that resulted in the emergence of Moldovan material culture.[257]

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that the Vlachs had arrived on the territory of the MSSR in two waves, the first entering from the south during the tenth to eleventh or eleventh to twelfth centuries, the second from the north in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. [Hîncu] Khynku, "K voprosu o voloshsko- slavianskoĭ," 89.

252 Fedorov, "Sovmestnye raboty," 81–84.

253 According to his official record kept in the Archives of the Academy of Sciences of Moldova, he did his doctoral studies between 1954 and1957; according to a volume published in his honor in the early 2000s, the years of his doctoral studies are 1955–1958. "Avtobiografiia Khynku Ivan Georgievich," in *Lichnoe delo starshego nauchnogo sotrudnika Khynku Ivana Georgievicha.* (AAŞRM. Fond 24. Opis' 3. Nr. 42, 1973–1990); Postică, ed., *Ion Hâncu*, 11.

254 As synonym for "Romanized" or Vlach, Hâncu also used the phrase "local element," thus harking back to his idea of Moldavian autochthony. [Hîncu] Khynku, "K voprosu o voloshsko- slavianskoĭ," 88.

255 In the article in which Hâncu writes of that culture, he does not insist on the description of the pottery, but he attached a plate with the profiles of three types of ceramics. [Hîncu] Khynku, "K voprosu o voloshsko- slavianskoĭ," 88.

256 The idea that the planned stone furnace with a device that enhanced heating would pertain to Eastern Slavic tribes, and that one without this device would belong to Southern Slavs was argued by Hîncu in the early 1960s. In his later works this idea was no longer be present. According to our knowledge in his publications, Hâncu did not explain what this device consisted of.

257 [Hîncu] Khynku, "K voprosu o voloshsko- slavianskoĭ," 87–89.

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By the mid-1960s, Hîncu abandoned the idea of a single "Vlacho-Slavic" archaeological culture. He now distinguished between two archaeological cultures for the period of the tenth to the fourteenth centuries, one that he associated with the Rus(sians) and another that he called Petruha or Limbari-Căprăria after two eponymous sites. The Russian culture was represented by the "ovoid strongholds" fortified with palisades,[258] by houses with stone ovens, and a specific type of pottery, as well as by burial mounds with cremations. The sites of the Petruha or Limbari-Căprăria type were rural, open settlements with houses with stone ovens, as well as open hearths, a specific type of pottery, as well as by inhumations in flat cemeteries. Such sites, according to Hîncu, appear in the central region of the MSSR, next to sites of the Russian culture. In his articles, Hîncu never mentioned directly the ethnic group behind the sites of the Petruha or Limbari-Căprăria type, but described several of its components, such as pottery or open fireplaces, as of an "ancient local tradition" or as "presenting close analogies" to the Moldovan material culture of his own day. Such formulations were clearly in reference to Daco-Romans or Vlachs, hence to the autochthony of Moldovans.[259]

Towards the end of the 1960s, Hîncu changed his mind again, and no longer avoided the topic of the Balkan-Danubian culture on the territory of the MSSR. The sites of the Petruha or Limbari-Căprăria type were integrated into that culture. He identified Romanized or "traditional local" elements, houses with open hearths, certain ceramic forms, flat cemeteries with inhumations, Slavic elements from the South, and Alano-Bulgarian elements (Bulgars, according to Comşa) most visible in finds of grey ware with burnished ornament of the so-called Saltovo-Maiatsk type. All those elements had also been identified by Comşa, but unlike her, Hîncu added more elements to the multi-ethnic definition of the Balkan-Danubian culture—Rus(sians), Pechenegs, and Cumans. It is the evolution of that culture that, according to Hîncu, led in the fourteenth century to the appearance of the Moldavian material culture.[260]

258 These were the sites Fedorov had interpreted as strongholds of the Tivertsy. As noted, Fedorov knew about the existence of 19 such sites on the territory of the MSSR.

259 [Ion Hîncu] Ivan G. Khynku, *Arkheologicheskie pamiatniki X–XIV vv. v Gyncheshtskikh i orgeebskikh kodrakh Moldavii* (Moscow: Nauka, 1966), 1–12; [Ion Hîncu] Ivan G. Khynku, "Pamiatniki Balkano-Dunaiskoi kul'tury X–XIV vv. lesostepnoi polosy Moldavii," in *Arkheologiia, ėtnografiia i iskustvovedenie Moldavii*, ed., Valentin S. Zelenchuk (Kishinev: Kartia moldoveniaskė, 1968), 106–124.

260 [Hîncu] Khynku, "Pamiatniki Balkano-Dunaiskoi kul'tury X–XIV vv. lesostepnoi polosy Moldavii," 107; [Ion Hîncu] Ivan G. Khynku, "K voprosy o sootnosheniĭ vostochnoslavianskoĭ i Balkano-Dunaiskoi kul'tur lesostepnoi polosy Moldavii," *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Istoriko-kraevedcheskogo muzeia* 2 (1969): 106–120; [Ion Hîncu] Ivan G. Khynku, *Poseleniia XI–XIV vekov v Orgeevskikh kodrakh Moldavii* (Kishinev: Akademiia Nauk Moldavskoĭ

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4.2 *Did Hîncu Minimize the Role of the Slavs?*

On certain points, the charges brought against Hîncu were unfounded. This is the case of his supposed minimization of the role played by the Slavic tribes in the history of the territory of the MSSR. Like his former teacher and most of his comrades, Hîncu admitted the possibility that Slavic tribes arrived on the territory of the MSSR before the sixth century.[261] He also noted the importance of the Slavs in the genesis of Moldovans and of their culture. According to him, it is the Vlach-Slavic "symbiosis" that resulted in the appearance of that people and its culture. The presence in some sunken-floored building attributed to the Balkan-Danubian culture of stone ovens and open hearths was, according to Hîncu, an example of tats "symbiosis."[262] He even criticized the manuscript of an article on "the first mention of the Vlachs and Slavs in Russian chronicles," signed by the Moscow-based historian Vladimir Koroliuk. According to Hîncu, Koroliuk had not paid enough attention to the Slavs, and had favored the Vlachs.[263]

However, some of Hîncu's reflections could certainly be construed as attempts to minimize the role of the Slavs. For example, in some of Hîncu publications the Tivertsy, presented in the Soviet official historiography as a Russian population, were treated as an ethnically heterogeneous group, a mixture of Vlachs and Slavs.[264] The only Rus' that inhabited the territory of the MSSR were the Uliches. According to Hîncu, they formed a "fairly closed" society who had

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SSR, 1969), 4–5; [Ivan Hîncu] Ion G. Khynku, "Arkheologicheskie issledovaniia na poselenii Limbar'-Kėprėriia X–XIV vv. v 1968–1969 gg.," *Arkheologicheskie issledovaniia v Moldavii* 1968–1969gg. (1972): 159–175; [Hîncu] Khynku, "Pamiatniki Balkano-Dunaiskoi kul'tury (X–XIV vv.)," 127–150.

261 [Hîncu] Khynku, "Slaviane v Prutsko-Dnestrovskom," 11.

262 [Ion Hîncu] Ivan G. Khynku, "Zarozhdenie i razvitie feodal'nykh otnosheniĭ v V–XI vv.," in *Istoriia Moldavskoĭ SSR*. T. 1, ed., Lev V. Cherepnin and al. (Kishinev: Kartia moldoveniaskė, 1965), 57–78; [Hîncu] Khynku, "Pamiatniki Balkano-Dunaiskoi kul'tury (X–XIV vv.)," 132–133; [Ion Hîncu] Ivan G. Khynku, "Slaviane v Karpato-Dunaiskikh zemliakh," in *Moldovane. Ocherki istorii, ėtnografii, isskustvovedeniia*, ed. Iakim S. Grosul and al. (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1977), 19.

263 "Protokol № 4 zasedaniia sektora istorii Moldavii dosovetskogo perioda ot 11 fevralia 1971 g.," in *Protokol zasedanii sektotov Instituta za 1971 g.* (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 102, 1971); "Protokol № 3 zasedaniia Uchennogo soveta Instituta istorii Akademii nauk MSSR ot 18 marta 1971 g.," in *Protokol zasedanii Uchennogo soveta Instituta za 1971 g.* (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 103, 1971).

264 [Ion Hîncu] Ivan G. Khynku, "K voprosu o sud'bakh romanizovannogo naseleniia Dunaisko-Dnestrovskikh zemel' v V–-XI vv. (Volokhi i slaviane)," in *Tezisy dokladov pervogo simpoziuma po arkheologii i ėtnografii Iugo-Zapada SSSR*, ed., Institut Istorii Akademii (Nauk MSSR, Kishinev: Kartia moldoveniaskė, 1964), 37.

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little contact with their neighbors.[265] Obviously, this was against what the official historiography maintained, and against the ideas of his former teacher, according to whom the Eastern Slavs in general were a progressive force that had contributed to the economic and political development of the region. In his works Hîncu also questioned the Slavic attribution of certain important archaeological sites, including some burial assemblages, a fact that could also have been interpreted as a minimization of the role the Slavs had played in the history of the region.[266]

Some of his oral interventions made during the various assemblies were surely seen in that light. Thus, at a meeting of the archaeological section of April 24, 1962, during which his colleague Rafalovich argued that in the MSSR the study of the ancient Slavs was still at an "embryonic" stage, Hîncu expressed disagreement: on the contrary, the study of that problem was quite advanced, especially thanks to Fedorov's efforts, while other topics had been truly neglected.[267] Everybody must have known that Hîncu hinted at the question of the Moldovan ethnogenesis.

However, despite the fact that Hîncu's works suggest that, beginning with the sixth century, the territory of the MSSR was inhabited by a large number of Slavs, and despite his perseverance in demonstrating Moldovan autochthony, the main idea emerging from his publications is that the early medieval population on the territory of the MSSR was multiethnic, and included many more groups besides Slavs or Vlach.[268]

4.3 *The Origin of an Obsession, the Paradigm of "Ethnic Indicators"*

Although Ion Hîncu never clearly expounded the theoretical framework that had guided his research, his works bear witness to the fact that that framework was no different from that of most Soviet archaeologists, including his Moldovan colleagues. Like them, Hîncu believed in the relevance of the so-called "ethnic indicators." That is why he believed he could "read" the ethnicity of open hearths or certain ceramic forms. His belief in "ethnic indicators" also

265 [Hîncu] Khynku, "K voprosy o sootnosheniĭ," 120.

266 [Ion Hîncu] Ivan G. Khynku, *Limbar'-srednevekovyi mogil'nik XII–XIV vekov v Moldavii* (Kishinev: Redaktsionno-izdatel'skii otdel Akademii nauk Moldavskoĭ SSR, 1970); [Ion Hîncu] Ivan G. Khynku, *Kėprėriia-pamiatnik kul'tury X–XII vv*. (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1973).

267 "Protokol № 6 ot 24 aprelia 1962 g. zasedaniia sektora arkheologii," In Protokoly zasedanii sektora arkheologii za 1962 g. (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 40, 1962).

268 [Hîncu] Khynku, "K voprosu o voloshsko-slavianskoĭ," 87–89; [Hîncu] Khynku, *Moldavskaia narodnaia*, 6–9; [Hîncu] Khynku, "Arkheologicheskie issledovaniia na poselenii Limbar'," 159–175; [Hîncu] Khynku, "Pamiatniki Balkano-Dunaiskoi kul'tury (X–XIV vv.)," 127–128.

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explains why he questioned the Slavic attribution of certain burial sites identified on the territory of the MSSR. Russian and Soviet historiography had traditionally maintained that the Slavs cremated their dead, whose ashes they then buried under mounds. However, the sites whose Slavic attribution was questioned by Hîncu consisted of inhumations in flat cemeteries, with no mounds.

Hîncu was also convinced that in some situations, such as the long-term cohabitation of two or more ethnic groups or the numerical or political domination of one ethnic group over another, "ethnic indicators" of one group may be adopted by another. This was the case of the stone oven and of certain forms of pottery which, according to Hîncu, were originally Slavic, but were later adopted by the Vlachs and subsequently became a characteristic feature of the Moldovan material culture. As noted, Hîncu at one point also argued that South Slavic elements had been adopted by the Vlachs, the bearers of the so-called "Vlacho-Slavic" culture.

However, where most Soviet historians and archaeologists saw only Slavs, Hîncu saw more than one ethnic group. His theoretical framework cannot explain his obsession with the genesis of the Moldovans, their culture, and their autochthony. I have already noted that for such views, Hîncu was accused of nationalism, a factor that could also explain his scholarly position. According to some authors, his position was the result of a new directive issued by the ideological authorities of Soviet Moldova, a directive that required the rewriting of the history of Moldovans by presenting them as indigenous on the territory of the Republic. Therefore, Hîncu's conformity could be another explanation for his position. In the next pages, I will verify the substance of those allegations.

4.4 *The Origin of an Obsession, Nationalism*

After the Second World War, the intention of the Soviet government was to build or rebuild a Moldovan Soviet republic primarily for the Moldovan ethnic group. However, the mistrust of the Soviet administration in regards to the population of the former Bessarabia who lived between 1918 and 1940 and from 1941 to 1944 in a capitalist and nationalist Romania ensured that the most important functions in almost all spheres of the new MSSR were held by people from outside the republic, primarily from the former MASSR, but also from Ukraine and Russia.[269] This is how Russian became practically the official language of the Moldovan Soviet Republic. The archival documents testify to the presence in the new elite of a feeling of superiority towards the local

269 Meurs, *Chestiunea*, 162, and 165–168.

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population.[270] This reality gave rise to a feeling of injustice, which appeared to have been stronger in intellectual and student circles and universities, but which also resonated with some local workers and apparatchiks.

Before mentioning some examples of such expressions of discontent, it must be noted that those demonstrations took the form of two nationalist discourses, one pro-Moldovan, a the other pro-Romanian.[271] Thus, in 1949–1950, a youth group created a clandestine organization called the National Patriotic Front and gave itself the task of supporting and promoting the "national element" in all spheres of activity of the MSSR. According to some information, its leaders even organized in 1960 a clandestine congress that decided to target the liberation of Bessarabia, Bukovina, and other territories inhabited by Romanians. In 1970, Alexandru Usatiuc-Bulgăr, one of the founders and leaders of that organization even went on a trip to Romania and reported to the Council of State there about the unhappy situation (as he described it) of Romanians of Bessarabia and Bukovina, asking for Romania's involvement.[272] In 1965, Leonid Cemortant, a senior official of the MSSR, who held the post of Vice-Minister of Culture in the Republic, signed a complaint about the Russification of language and the low number of senior officials of Moldovan ethnicity.[273] After a lecture on the scientific interpretation of Moldovan history, language and literature, presented in 1971 by the academician Iosif Vartichian at the Polytechnic Institute of Kishinev and reflecting the official historiographical position, some students voiced their doubts about the concept of Moldovan language, literature, and ethnicity. They also raised questions about the Russification of the Republic and the discrimination against Moldovans in matters of jobs in the cities, especially in the Republic's capital, Kishinev.[274] In his poems, most of them circulating in samizdat format, the writer Petru Cărare also expressed dissatisfaction with the discrimination of Moldovan ethnic groups

270 Caşu, "Şovinismul."

271 It was the second discourse that the Soviet administration feared the most because, unlike the former, it could go so far as to plead for the reintegration of Soviet Moldova into Romania. According to Ivan Bodiul, the first secretary of the Communist Party of the MSSR between 1961 and 1980, while pro-Moldovan nationalism could be tolerated, but pro-Romanian nationalism had to be "burned with a hot iron." Cited after to Vladimir Beşleagă, "Conştiinţa naţională sub regimul comunist (R.S.S.M. 1956–1963)," *Contrafort* 3–5 (2005): 21–22.

272 Alexandru Usatiuc-Bulgăr, *Cu gîndul la « o lume între două lumi »: Eroi, martiri, oameni legandă*. T. 2 (Orhei: Lyceum, 1999), 46–231.

273 Caşu, "Leonid Cemortan."

274 Caşu, "Conştiinţa naţională (I)"; Caşu, "Conştiinţa naţională (II)."

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and the linguistic question.[275] The doctor and professor Nicolae Testemițeanu, who was the Minister of Health in the MSSR between 1963 and 1968, without openly expressing dissatisfaction with the national question, led a policy that facilitated the access of Moldovans to positions in the medical field, promoting Moldovan as the language of instruction at the Institute of Medicine in Kishinev, the only higher-level institution that trained doctors in the MSSR.[276] The best-known case of a worker who disagreed with the language situation and called out the discrimination of the Moldovans was that of the electrician Gheorghe Muruziuc. The idea that he shared with his colleagues, friends, and even at the official meetings of the company in which he worked, was that the solution to these problems was the reunification of the MSSR with Romania. In 1966, he even displayed the Romanian flag on the roof of his company.[277]

All this was of course duly repressed by the local administration and the KGB. People who were accused of nationalism were either imprisoned and sent to labor camps, far from the borders of the MSSR, or simply dismissed from their jobs, and then closely monitored by the KGB. Some were declared mentally insane and sent to psychiatric institutions. There was also a case of expulsion from the country. Another case was resolved by permission to emigrate to Romania after the individual had spent four years in prison.[278]

As for Ion Hîncu, according to the available information, he was never a member of any underground organization, did not sign petitions either against the language situation or against the cadre's policy, did not display Romanian flags on companies or public buildings. However, being a second-year student at the Faculty of History at the Pedagogical Institute in Kishinev, he was almost incriminated for nationalist protest. In his memoirs, he told that story with a certain note of humor. In the student residence in which he lived, someone had left in the corridor a barrel of about fifty liters of wine and three bags, one with wheat flour, another with corn flour, and the third with potatoes. Those products were meant as payment for a service and, since that service had not yet been delivered, they were temporarily entrusted to a student. In a student residence, such foods looked like a really Epicurean treasure and,

275 Beșleagă, "Conștiința," 21–22; Nicolae Lupan, *Gânduri de proscris. La 30 de ani de activitate unionistă a Asociației mondiale « pro Basarabia și Bucovina »* (Bucharest: Editura Pro Histria, 2006), 20.

276 Cașu, "Nicolae Testemițeanu (I)"; Cașu, "Nicolae Testemițeanu (II)."

277 Mihai Tașcă, "Rezistență anticomunistă: Tricolorul lui Gheorghe Muruziuc." *Timpul*, April 18, 2014.

278 Lupan, *Gânduri de proscris*, 13–32; Toma Roman, "Povestea fabuloasă a unui rus care s-a trezit român," (2012). Available at https://www.timpul.md/articol/povestea-fabuloasa-a-unui-rus-care-s-a-trezit-roman--31063.html (visit of July 5, 2018).

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since the student in question was not there, Hîncu and one of his colleagues decided to taste the wine, which proved to be very good. Meanwhile, the number of wine-tasters began to grow and the tasting operation quickly turned into a truly Bacchic celebration. Some students started to fry potatoes, others to make pancakes and *mămăligă* (*or măligă*), the Moldavian variant of the Italian polenta. At the arrival of the student to whom all had been entrusted, the party was at its best. Truly upset, the student complained to the Communist Leninist Youth Union, to the Communist Party branch of the Pedagogical Institute, as well as to the Rectorate. A commission was set up to investigate what had happened. As this event took place in 1952, during the Stalinist era, the case was taken very seriously, especially since all participants were of Moldovan ethnic origin. For that last reason, some of those who investigated the case attempted to give it a political connotation. But, in the end, all wine tasters were released with warnings and the obligation to pay for the damage inflicted.[279]

Hîncu was never as a fiery nationalist. Even during the first half of the 1990s, when nationalism, especially pro-Romanian nationalism, was at its peak and had reached the academic circles in Moldova, Ion Hîncu's discourse was quite moderate. Pro-Romanian nationalists at that time liked to put in contrast the bad time during which Bessarabia was part of Tsarist Russia with the good times when the province belonged to Romania. But to Hîncu the Tsarist period was not that bad. In his memoirs he noted the substantial improvement in the lives of the inhabitants of his native village, an improvement brought about by the construction of a railway. The presence of the Romanian army in Bessarabia after the Bolshevik Revolution was mentioned as a positive event, because it reestablished, so Hîncu, the order in a province devastated by looters, assassinations, and armed bands. However, Hîncu also mentions the abuses of the Romanian administration of the time, the corruption, the often inadequate treatment of the local population, as well as the extermination of the Jews in his village.[280]

In the years 1950–1970, Hîncu was among the young Moldovans who felt the injustice brought about by what he saw the Russification of the MSSR. He believed, like many others, that the rulers of the MSSR ought to be Moldovan, and Moldovan ought to be the official language of the republic. Civil servants, even when not of local origin, ought to know the language, history, and traditions of the locals.[281] His colleague and former friend Gheorghe Cebotarenco recalled

279 Hîncu, *Scara*, 54.

280 Hîncu, *Scara*, 24, 27 and 46.

281 I have noted that in an article published in Ukraine, Hîncu wrote of the arrival of Vlachs on the territory of the MSSR and used the name of "old Romanians" as a synonym for

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a discussion taking place in a graduate student residence room in Moscow at some point in the second half of the 1950s. Pavel Bîrnea was also present. In the conversation, Hîncu expressed his dissatisfaction with the fact that archaeology in the MSSR was under the influence of "foreigners, Russians, and Jews."[282]

One may never know if those were Hîncu's the exact words. His wife, whom he met in his teacher's expeditions and whom he married in 1957, was a Russian from Moscow.[283] It should be pointed out that at the time of that discussion Cebotarenco, Hîncu, and Bîrnea were still friends, even "best friends," according to Cebotarenco. Over the following decades, that friendship fell apart, to be replaced by enmity between Hîncu and the other two.[284] Cebotarenco's memory of the events was obviously colored by what happened after that. However, Hîncu seems to support indirectly his former friend's recollections, albeit not word by word. Commenting on the appointment in 1976 of the new president of the Academy of Sciences of the MSSR, the biologist Aleksandr Zhuchenko, Hîncu wrote that the new president "knew neither the language, nor the history, nor the culture of the indigenous people."[285]

In his memoirs, as well as in some of his articles published after the late 1980s, at the time of the Perestroika and after the fall of the Soviet Union, Hîncu noted the indifference of Soviet archaeologists, particularly of his former professor Fedorov, towards the issue of the genesis of the Moldovans and of their culture. In my opinion, Hîncu was convinced that both their indifference, and the difficulties that he had encountered in publishing his point of view uncensored were part of the collective injustice perpetrated upon Moldovans. It is that sense of injustice that marked Hîncu's career and his opinion on the history of the Moldovans.[286] His embracing the national paradigm was therefore at the origin of his obsession with the problem of the genesis and autochthony of the Moldovans.

4.5 *The Origin of an Obsession, Conformism*

According to the testimony of the archaeologist Nicolae Chetraru, a former colleague of Hîncu, in 1970, when the first head of the archaeological section,

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Vlachs. As such he may appear as endorsing the pro-Romanian nationalist discourse. But Hâncu was not interested in the question of the whether Moldovans were part of the Romanian nation. In his memoirs written in 1995, he used both terms, Moldovans and Romanians, interchangeably. Hîncu, *Scara*, 54, 57–59 and 62.

282 Gheorghe Cebotarenko, interview by Iurie Stamati 2003, audio.

283 Hîncu, *Scara*, 62; "Avtobiografiia Khynku Ivan Georgievich."

284 Gheorghe Cebotarenko, interview by Iurie Stamati 2003, audio.

285 Hîncu, *Scara*, 58.

286 Hîncu, *Scara*, 55 and 59; Hîncu, "Apariția, implimentarea," 25–26.

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Georgiĭ Smirnov, retired, Hîncu found himself among the candidates for that position. But the one who called the shots on the matter was Boris Rybakov, the director of the Institute of Archaeology in Moscow, and the former supervisor of Georgiĭ Fedorov's thesis. According to Chetraru, he did not like Hîncu because of the accusation of nationalism, and because, to Rybakov, Hîncu was Fedorov's protégé. But besides Hîncu, the candidacy of another one of Fedorov's students was announced for that position—Pavel Bîrnea. He too, like Hîncu, appeared to Rybakov as "Fedorov's man," and therefore his candidacy was also rejected.[287] Finally Nicolae Chetraru was appointed the new head of the archaeological section, despite the fact that at the time he had no scientific title.

But in 1975, the situation changed in Hîncu's favor. At the direct intervention of two important people he was appointed as head of the archaeological sector. Hîncu's protectors were Boris Vizer, who in 1974 had been appointed director of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences under which the archaeological section operated, and Artiom Lazarev, at the time the vice president of the Academy of Sciences in the MSSR.[288] Both were from the former MASSR.

Boris Vizer was born into the family of a Bolshevik activist, a participant in the Civil War, who was then actively involved in the setting up of *kolkhozes*. In 1937, during the Great Terror, when Boris was nine years old, his father was accused of Trotskyism and executed. The label of son of an "enemy of the people" followed him until the days of Khrushchev's Thaw, creating much trouble for him during his university studies, and also afterwards, when he sought employment. At one time, he taught in high schools in the southeastern part of the MSSR. The de-Stalinization campaign and the rehabilitation of his father in 1956 probably facilitated his access to the position of director at one of high-schools, and later allowed him to pursue his doctoral studies in Moscow, specializing in contemporary history. In 1962, after defending his candidate thesis, he returned to the MSSR and was hired at the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences. He fulfilled his duties diligently as a "court historian" by faithfully following the line drawn by the Party. For his diligence, he was rewarded with the position of head of department of the contemporary history section of the Institute of History in 1968. In 1971, he was appointed deputy director, and in 1974 director of that institution.

287 Nicolae Chetraru, interview by Iurie Stamati, 2010, audio.

288 Postică, ed., *Ion Hâncu*, 7–8.

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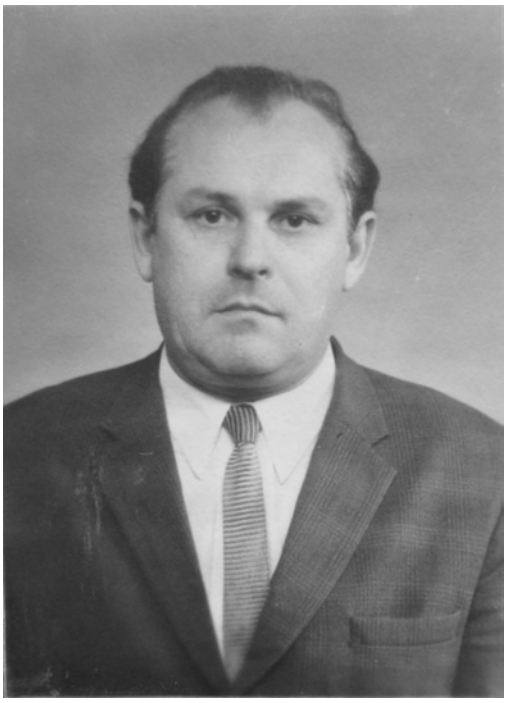

FIGURE 10
Boris Vizer (1928–2017)
LICHNOE DELO. IN-T ISTORII. VIZER BORIS KONSTANTINOVICH
(AAȘRM. FOND 1, OPIS' 3, NR. 5747)

Even though Vizer was originally from the former MASSR, he also shared the feeling of injustice in regards to the linguistic situation, and especially in regards to the policy of national executives. As soon as he became director of the Institute of History, he decided to correct that situation in his own way. First, he allegedly dismissed some people of Jewish and Russian descent, who, according to him, had failed in their duties. Then, every year, he attended the state examinations[289] at the Faculty of History in order to select young people of Moldovan origin to be employed in his institution.[290] For these actions, he was branded a nationalist, but Vizer had the support of one of his superiors, the vice-president of the Academy of Sciences, Artiom Lazarev.[291]

289 "State exams" are the final examinations following which students receive their diplomas.

290 Vladimir Barbulat, "Vizer Boris," in *Universitatea Pedagogică de Stat "Ion Creangă" din Chișinău. 1940–2000*, ed., N. Banuh, (Kishinev: Ministerul Educației și Științei al Republicii Moldova, 2000), 370; Marcela Gafton, "Un om tânăr, istoricul Boris Vizer." *Timpul*, February 13, 2004; Gheorghe Gonța, "Un savant în deplinătatea forțelor de creație. Jubileul de 70 ani al profesorului Boris Vizer." *Făclia*, March 7, 1998; Boris Vizer, interview by Iurie Stamati 2010, audio.

291 Demir Dragnev, interview by Iurie Stamati, 2010, audio.

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FIGURE 11
Artiom Lazarev (1914–1999)
LICHNOE DELO. LAZAREV ARTIOM MARC (AAȘRM. FOND 1, OPIS' 3, NR. 8118, 1974–1999)

Born in 1914 into a peasant family, Lazarev studied history in the years 1932–1938 at the Pedagogical Institute of Tiraspol, the capital of the MASSR. At the same time, he worked in the Komsomol (the organization of the Communist youth), and taught at a pedagogical school. After the annexation of Bessarabia, he became inspector in the Ministry of Public Education of the MSSR. During the Second World War, he was an officer in the Red Army and a political instructor in a division made up of Romanian prisoners of war. In the years 1944–1946, he was in Bucharest, Romania, working for the Allied Control Council. In 1946 he returned to the MSSR and resumed his activity in Kishinev, teaching. From 1947 his career experienced a meteoric rise. He became Minister of Public Education, Deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the MSSR, member of the Central Committee of Moldovan Communist Party, and responsible for science, culture and education in the republic. He set up several projects that were considered very beneficial for the Moldovan culture.[292] However, in 1963, his rise suddenly stopped. Until 1968, he was the head of the Moldovan History Section of the Soviet Period at the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences, a much less prestigious position. According to some, he left his

292 Vasile Kotsofan, *Kemaria ynėltsimilor* (Kishinev: Kartia Moldoveniaskė, 1985), 83–99.

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high office protesting against the indifference of the political leadership of the republic towards Moldovan culture.[293] It may be, however, that he was marginalized because, at one point, he had been perceived as a nationalist. Lazarev criticized the territorial division of Bessarabia after the Second World War. In his view, the northern and southern parts of Bessarabia, as well as northern Bukovina that were attached to neighboring Ukraine should have been returned to their rightful owner, the MSSR. In 1954, Lazarev even intended to go to Khrushchev to discuss the subject, but the latter, when learning the reason for the request, refused to receive him.[294]

However, in the late 1960s, Lazarev's career suddenly revived. In 1968, he became Rector of the State University in Kishinev, the most prestigious institution of higher education in Soviet Moldova. In 1970 he was elected corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences. In 1974, he became vice-president of that institution, and in 1976 he was elected as a titular member. In the same period, he became president of the Supreme Soviet of the MSSR. The revival of Lazarev's career was largely due to the direct intervention of the Secretary General of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev. The two men had known each other personally since the early 1950s, when Brezhnev had been in the MSSR, as first secretary of the Central Committee of the Moldovan Communist Party.[295] But the new positions attributed to Lazarev were not mere gifts from a former comrade who had become head of state.

Romania's tendency towards autonomy from the USSR became more evident when Ceauşescu came to power in 1965. Because of that, the question of Bessarabia was mentioned in discussions that took place between leaders of the two states. The problem of Bessarabia made the USSR look for a solution that would thwart Romania's claims. That was probably how Brezhnev remembered his former colleague from the MSSR. On his return from a visit to Bucharest, probably in 1966, Brezhnev stopped in the MSSR where he met several senior officials, including Lazarev.[296] It was probably at that meeting or immediately after, that the idea of a book on the *Moldovan Soviet State and the Bessarabian Question* was born. Published in 1974, the book in question was an apology for the right of the Moldovan people to have an ethnic and political identity outside the Romanian borders, but within the Soviet Union. This book

293 Iziaslav Levit, "Slovo ob Arteme Markoviche Lazareve," *Nashe pokolenie* 12 (2010): 13–19.

294 Igor Caşu and Virgil Pâslariuc, "Chestiunea revizuirii hotarelor RSS Moldovenești: de la proiectul "Moldova Mare" la proiectul "Basarabia Mare" și cauzele eșecului acestora (decembrie 1943–iuie 1946)," *Archiva Moldaviae* 2 (2010): 292–294; Levit, "Slovo," 14.

295 Levit, "Slovo," 13–14.

296 Iziaslav Levit, *Vospominaniia o moldavskoĭ Akademii nauk i ee pervom prezidente Ia.S. Grosule* (Tiraspol: B.i., 2014), 211–212.

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provoked Romanian historians who were eager to reply to their Moldovan Soviet colleagues, but their momentum was lost when the censor's office of their country refused to allow an escalation of the conflict between two states that were meant to remain "sisters and friends."[297]

Brezhnev and Lazarev were surely happy with each other. The former had at his disposal an answer to the Romanian claims in the form of an imposing work that looked like a real academic study of about 400 pages, and an imposing critical apparatus, as well as a long bibliographical list in several languages. The second was able to re-emerge from the shadows and pursue his personal goal, that of accelerating the construction of a "true" Moldovan republic, intended primarily for the Moldovan ethnic group. In order to counter any doubts that the Moldovans had a right to be in charge of the Moldovan Republic, Lazarev wanted a history that would show the antiquity and the autochthony of the Moldovans on that territory. It is because of that as vice-president of the Academy of Sciences, that he supported his subordinate Vizer, the director of the Institute of History, in his policy of national cadres. It is also in that way that he supported the candidacy of Ion Hîncu as head of the archaeological sector. Lazarev had been familiar with Hîncu's scientific position for several years, even if initially he did not seem to support it.[298]

Here is what Nicolae Chetraru remembered about the appointment of Hîncu as the head of the archaeological section:

> Vizer and Hîncu became good friends. They were neighbors. The two were often seen taking walks together in the evening, while still discussing something. One day, Lazarev asked me to come to his place, in his office. He asked me, "Who are we?" He wanted to know my opinion on

297 Constantiniu, *De la Răutu*, 363–365.

298 A meeting of the Scientific Council of the Institute of History was convened just after a symposium of archaeology and ethnography organized in 1964 by the Institute of History of the Science Academy of MSSR with guests from other Soviet republics. At that meeting, Lazarev expressed his opinion on the work of that symposium: "We had [some] presentations without scientific arguments. Comrade Hîncu made a presentation which provoked serious objections. […] We must dispel his subjective arguments. […] We are confronted with a subjective national approach to the events discussed. It must be ensured that these presentations [Lazarev's criticism was also addressed to a Ukrainian participant] will not be published with such flaws." I have not been able to find the text of Hîncu's presentation, but it was very likely that it dealt with the autochthony of the Moldovans. It should be noted that the criticism addressed to Hîncu was made before Lazarev met Brezhnev. "Protokol № 8 zasedaniia Uchenogo Soveta Instituta istorii AN MSSR ot 5 iunia 1964 g.," in *Protokoly zasedanii Uchenogo soveta instituta za 1964 g*. (AAŞRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 55, 1964).

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> the Moldovan ethnogenesis. I answered him that we are Moldovans, that our ancestors the Vlachs appeared somewhere from Transylvania, in Romania, and came first on the territory between the Carpathians and the Dniester, and later entered our territory. Suddenly he cried out; "Don't bullshit me!" (In Russian "Ne pizdi!"). Lazarev insisted that the Moldovans be treated as natives to the territory of Moldova. He did not want them to come from anywhere else. He asked me to promote his point of view, or else, he said, I should resign from the direction of the archaeological sector! I said that I cannot do that, that I am a specialist in the Paleolithic, and have nothing to do with that historical period. Then I went to see Vizer and told him about the discussion I had with Lazarev. He tried to console me by telling me that Lazarev's comments about my resignation were not serious. All this happened at some point in the summer [of 1975]. In November, Vizer invited me into his office, he explained to me that the situation had changed and that I had to resign, which I did. The same month Hîncu became the head of the archaeological section. Shortly afterwards there was a big meeting at the Academy presided over by Lazarev. From his platform, with a pompous tone, he announced that Ion Hîncu had managed to find evidence that the Moldovans were natives to Moldova … inviting everyone to listen to a presentation made by Hîncu himself.[299]

It should be pointed out that I have not found any evidence that Lazarev was executing a directive from the office of the local or central Communist Party leadership and its ideological structures. In Moscow, Brezhnev had already obtained what he had wanted. In the MSSR, Ivan Bodiul, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Moldovan Communist Party, known as a fierce adversary of the "Moldovan-Romanian bourgeois nationalism" had no reason to want an indigenous history for the Moldovans, especially since he and Lazarev were not, as it seemed, in good relations.[300] In my opinion, the campaign for an indigenous history of the Moldovans was a private initiative of Lazarev. It also seems that what he was doing in the MSSR, promoting Hîncu to the post of chief of the archaeological sector, and the promotion of the idea of autochthony of the Moldovans, did not have the approval of Boris Rybakov, the director of the Institute of Archaeology in Moscow. An activity report of the Institute

299 Nicolae Chetraru, interview by Iurie Stamati, 2010, audio.

300 Beșleagă, "Conștiința," 21–22; Petru Soltan, "Momentul adevărului," in Blogspot (2002). Available at http://academicianpssoltan.blogspot.ca/2012/01/momentul-adevarului.html (visit of June 28, 2018).

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of History of the Academy of Sciences of the MSSR which is dated 1977 (the year of Hîncu's removal), claims that in the "last period" the links between the Institute of Archaeology of Moscow and the Archaeological Sector of the Institute of History of MSSR have weakened, which was one of the reasons for the appearance of "serious scientific shortcomings in the activity of this sector."[301]

As for Hîncu, his desire to show that Moldovans were indigenous to the MSSR was not inspired by the Party's *nomenklatura*, as some authors have suggested. The academic *nomenklaturists* Artiom Lazarev and Boris Vizer only supported a project that was to their liking, but which had originated with Hîncu long before it was taken under their wings.

4.6 *Why did Hîncu's Interpretation Not Receive Support from His Peers?*

Hîncu's works contained only allusions to the idea of Moldovan autochthony. None of his publications contains any explanation of his theory. Nonetheless, he had access to information that could have convinced his colleagues accept his point of view, at least as a working hypothesis. To build an argument about the strong Roman influence on the territory of the MSSR and its Romanization, Hîncu only needed to cite the observations that Ėmmanuil Rikman had made in some of his works, which he probably knew very well. From that, he could have easily drawn the conclusion that a Romance-speaking population, the Vlachs, had appeared as an ethnic group on that territory, and nowhere else.[302] In some of his works, Rikman spoke of a close relationship between the Roman world and the bearers of the Cherniakhov culture on the territory of the MSSR. Some artefacts found on the sites of that archaeological culture had inscriptions in Latin, which, according to Rikman, must have been written by the people living in that area at the time—more proof of the existence of a Latin-speaking population on the territory of the MSSR. On a site attributed to the same culture, a stone building was discovered; it was interpreted as a villa built by Romans who had settled in the region.[303]

To be sure, Hîncu could not cite any written source dated before the twelfth century, that could directly attest to the presence of the Vlachs on the territory of historical Moldavia. However, he believed, like his Romanian colleague Maria Comşa, that the Vlachs were not mentioned in the sources, because

301 "Otchet o deiatel'nosti otdeleniia obshchestvennykh nauk AN MSSR za 1977 god," in *Otchety nauchnykh uchrezhdenii Otdeleniia obshchestvennykh nauk AN MSSR za 1977 god.* (AAȘRM. Fond 1, Opis' 1, Nr. 391, 1977).

302 As a rule of thumb, before being published all works were discussed in the special meetings of the archaeological sector and, more broadly, at the Institute of History.

303 Rikman, *Ėtnicheskaia istoriia*, 185–237.

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they had not been not politically active before the twelfth century.[304] In order to convince his peers that the Moldovans were indigenous, and that the process of Moldovan ethnogenesis had taken place entirely on the territory of historical Moldavia, Hîncu had to demonstrate, according to the retrospective method, the existence of a continuity of material culture from the time of the "Daco-Romans" to the period of the medieval principality of Moldavia. In other words, he had to show that the artefacts he saw as ethnic indicators of the Moldovans were present on the territory of the MSSR without interruption—perhaps in a slightly changed form, but basically the same from the first centuries AD until the rise of the Moldavian Principality.[305] Hîncu had to demonstrate that there had had been no gap in the fifth century in the settlement on the territory of the MSSR, and no demographic decline. He also had to explain why the Cherniakhov culture was so different from all subsequent archaeological cultures. However, all of that could not have possibly been the reason for his point of view to be rejected so firmly and vehemently, especially since the alternative offered by the official historiography had its own faults, as mentioned above.

At times Hîncu's opinion appeared to win over the minds of some of his colleagues. The minutes of a meeting of the archaeological sector that took place in September 1958 refers to a discussion of a manuscript of a study that Hîncu had dedicated to the eighth- to seventeenth-century pottery, in which he promoted his idea about the autochthony of the Moldovans on the territory of the MSSR. At that meeting, that idea was supported by Nicolae Chetraru, his colleague specializing in Paleolithic studies, who would later become head of the archaeological sector. Chetraru endorsed the idea that "the Moldovan people have come into being exactly on the territory where they now live."[306] According to Hîncu's memoirs, the manuscript of the chapter on Antiquity

304 [Hîncu] Khynku, "Zarozhdenie," 59.

305 Hîncu definitely had access to information that he could have used to prove such continuity. For example, Hîncu had used the open hearths, either by themselves or in combination with stone ovens, as an "ethnic indicator" of Moldovan. Such hearths remained in use on the territory of the MSSR throughout the first millennium. This had already been noted by Rafalovich in his 1972 doctoral dissertation, although he also noted that open hearths and stone ovens were quite common in "old Russian settlements." According to him, open hearths were used in the summer and stone ovens in the winter. Rafalovich, *Slaviane*, 84–86.

306 Chetraru went even farther when noting that "concerning ceramics, there are certain inaccuracies, Comrade Hîncu minimizes the role of the Roman influence in the genesis of [Moldavian] ceramics." "Protokol № 7 zasedaniia otdela arkheologii i ėtnografii In-ta istorii MDAN SSSR ot 3.IX.1958 g.," in *Kniga protokolov otd. arkheologii i ėtnografii, 1958 god.* (AAŞRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1. Nr. 7, 1958).

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for the second synthesis of history of the MSSR, published in 1965, whose author was Rikman, also agreed with Hîncu idea concerning the autochthony of Moldovans.[307] Rikman, like Hîncu, had doubts about the Balkan-Danubian Culture being attributed to the South Slavs. At a meeting of the archaeological sector in November 1974, which discussed a manuscript of a monograph by Cebotarenco related to that archaeological culture,[308] Rikman argued that "there are many works that claim without any proof that the culture of the territory between the [rivers] P. [rut] and D. [niestr] belongs to the South Slavs."[309]

In his memoirs, Hîncu mentions other people who, while agreeing with his point of view, refrained from supporting it openly. He does not, however, give any names, nor indicate whether those people were archaeologists.[310] Even Cebotarenco and Bîrnea, who, at the beginning of his career have been his best friends, and who could have been his potential supporters, abandoned him. Bîrnea wrote an article together with Rafalovich shortly after Hîncu's dismissal as the head of the archaeological sector. In that article, he describes his former friend as a rather superficial researcher, who had built his opinion from insufficient archaeological data and a cavalier reading of sources.[311] Cebotarenco, on the other hand, disagreed with Hîncu's ethnic interpretation of the archaeological sites he had discussed in relation to the Balkan-Danubian culture. According to Cebotarenco, even though the sites in question contained traces of

307 Hîncu, *Scara*, 56.

308 The minutes of that meeting do not contain either the title or the topic of the work discussed. The fact that this was Cebotarenco's work about the Balkano-Danubian culture results, however from certain questions addressed to the author and from the interventions of the participants in the meeting. "Protokol № 16 zasedaniia sektora arkheologii Instituta Istorii AN MSSR ot 13 noiabria 1974 g.," in *Protokoly zasedanii sektora arkheologii 1974 g.* (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 129, 1974).

309 Rikman had more reservations about the continuity of material culture from the first centuries AD to the middle of the second millennium, an idea that was so dear to Hîncu. Ėmmanuil A. Rikman, "Predislovie," in I.G. Khynku, *Moldavskaia narodnaia keramika* (Kishinev: Kartia moldoveneaske, 1969), 3.

310 Hîncu, *Scara*, 55. Among Hîncu's supporters was the young archaeologist Gheorghe Postică, who began his career in the mid-1970s under Hîncu. But apart from some interventions during the meetings of the archaeological sector, Postică could not express openly (in his publications) his support for Hîncu. That attitude became possible only after the late 1980s, under Gorbachev. "Protokol № 4 zasedaniia sektora arkheologii i drevneĭ istorii Instituta istorii AN MSSR ot 17 fevralia 1977 g.," in *Protokoly zasedanii sektora arkheologii i drevneĭ istorii Instituta istorii AN MSSR*. (AAȘRM. Fond 24, Opis' 1, Nr. 3, 1977).

311 [Pavel Bîrnea] Pavel P. Byrnia and Isak A. Rafalovich, "Problema mestnogo naseleniia dnestrovsko-prutskogo mezhdurech'ia X–XII vv. i Balkano-Dunaiskaia kul'tura," *Izvestiia AN MSSR. Seriia obshchestvennykh nauk* 1 (1978): 65–75.

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a South Slavic influence and of nomadic peoples, they all had to be attributed to the "archaeological culture of the Eastern Slavs."[312]

It is of course possible that his colleagues and former friends had genuinely not been convinced by Hîncu's point of view.[313] In my opinion, however, there were other reasons for Ceboterenco and Bîrnea's attitude.

I have already noted that in 1947, after the USSR occupied Bessarabia, Cebotarenco's father was declared an "enemy of the people" and executed. To avoid possible repression or discrimination, he had to sever all ties to his father. In his official autobiographies, he mentioned that ever since 1943, he, his mother and sister no longer lived with his father. Even so, in 1948, when he was a first-year student at the Pedagogical Institute in Kishinev, he was asked to collaborate with the NKVD, but refused. According to his own testimony, on that occasion, he was reminded, in a somewhat threatening tone, that "he had to mend his father's faults" by demonstrating loyalty to his Soviet homeland. Cebotarenco claims that he managed to escape the pressure by quoting Stalin's well-known adage, according to which "the son does not answer for the acts of his father."[314]

Whatever the nature of his relationship with the NKVD (later KGB), Cebotarenco, who had found his place among "the most progressive scientists in the world," could not associate himself with anything that may have been perceived as anti-Soviet. Hîncu had been accused of nationalism several times, and his opinion, that was tantamount to anti-Soviet attitude. The minutes of a meeting held in 1975 in which several archaeologists and historians discussed two chapters of a monograph by Cebotarenco devoted to the history of the South Slavs in the lands between the Dniester and the Prut rivers, provide insight into Cebotarenco's attitude towards the guidelines of the official historiography. According to the minutes, the issue of the Balkan-Danubian culture was at the core of the manuscript. In its pages, Cebotarenco criticized Hîncu's works, as Cebotarenco attributed that culture primarily to the South Slavs (the point of view of the official historiography), while Hîncu believed it to be a multiethnic culture, with Vlachs among its bearers. In his intervention at the meeting, Hîncu claimed that Cebotarenco had no arguments to support

312 [Cebotarenco] Chebotarenko, *Naselenie tsentral'noi chasti*, 54–55.

313 In some of his works Hîncu noted that the continuity of material culture on the territory of the MSSR "could not yet be established," because that question had not been sufficiently studied, and more information was needed. It is likely that such conclusions were imposed on Hîncu as a precondition for the publication of his works. Khynku, *Moldavskaia narodnaia keramika*, 17; Ėmmanuil A. Rikman and al., *Ocherki istorii kul'tury Moldavii, II–XIV vv.* (Kishinev: Shtiintsa, 1971), 178.

314 Gheorghe Cebotarenko, interview by Iurie Stamati 2003, audio.

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is interpretation. He therefore advised him to rework that interpretation thoroughly. Cebotarenco's reply was is a good illustration of his position: "There is an official point of view on the history of South Slavs in the textbooks, and I have no intention to reconsider that."[315]

The case of Bîrnea was no less sensitive. We have seen that in his official autobiographies he had declared himself to be Romanian, a statement that caused him difficulties at the time of his doctoral studies, but also when he applied for the position of director of the archaeological section. For that reason, for a long time he was not permitted to travel to Romania for research. As noted, however, he eventually succeeded and established a good academic reputation for himself, no doubt as a result of his impeccable ideological position.

We also saw that in the late 1950s, Nicolae Chetraru, who would later become the chief of the archaeological sector, agreed with Hîncu about the indignity of the Moldovans. During the first half of the 1970s, however, when he was already head of the archaeological sector, he seemed to have a completely different view. In addition, in the discussion with Lazarev, he did not appear to be interested in that issue, claiming that it was not part of his field of specialization. While he was indeed working on the Paleolithic, such claims appear somewhat hollow. Chetraru was aware that his colleague had been accused of nationalism, and that such charges could easily be equated to an anti-Soviet attitude. Like Cebotarenco, Chetraru was also the son of an "enemy of the people," and his attitude was probably meant to placate any possible repercussions.[316] But Chetraru had yet another reason to distance himself from Hîncu's position. He was on good terms with Nikolaĭ Mokhov.[317] As I will show below, Hîncu's

315 "Protokol № 16 zasedaniia sektora arkheologii Instituta istorii AN MSSR ot 28 oktiabria 1975 g.," in *Protokoly zasedanii sektora arkheologii 1975 g.* (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 137, 1975). As we saw, after Hâncu's removal, Cebotarenco, in his criticism of his colleague, said that the Balkan-Danubian culture should be attributed to the Eastern Slavs. Obviously the initiative of this change of position was not his own. It was surely the result of a request that came from his bosses.

316 In 1941, his father, who was working on the railroad, was unjustly accused of anti-Sovietism following a denunciation by a jealous neighbor. As a result, his entire family was deported to Siberia. Nicolae Chetraru, interview by Iurie Stamati, 2010, audio; Nicolae A. Rĕilianu, "N.A. Ketraru: Nachalo bol'shogo puti …," *Stratum plus* 1 (2003–2004), 9; N. Tel'nov, "K 75-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia Nikolaia Antonovicha Ketraru," *Revista arheologică, Serie nouă* 1–2 (2006), 429.

317 In 1951, Chetraru began his studies in History at the State University of Frunze, the capital of the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic. As a student, he took part in the archaeological excavations carried out by Aleksandr Bernshtam from the State University in Leningrad. Chetraru made a good impression on Professor Bernshtam, who recommended his a transfer to his own university. As the transfer request to Leningrad was rejected, Chetraru moved to the University of Kishinev in 1954. There he met Nikolaĭ Mokhov, who had been Bernshtam's student in Leningrad. Mokhov was instrumental in Chetraru's efforts

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FIGURE 12
Nikolaĭ Mokhov (1904–1983)
DELO KANDIDATA ISTORICHESKIKH NAUK MOKHOVA NIKOLAIA ANDREEVICHA (AAȘRM. FOND 15, OPIS' 1, NR. 534)

position seriously challenged Mokhov's scholarly credibility, and this was the reason for which he became one of Hîncu's fiercest opponents.

In fact, Hîncu's point of view had no chance of being accepted, even as a working hypothesis, and not only because he had failed to convince his peers, or because his point of view had come too close to the position of the Romanian historiography. In reality, there were substantial difference between him and Romanian historians. True, Hîncu had used the phrase "old Romanians" instead of Vlachs, but only once. That was the only instance in which he could have been seen as questioning the Soviet theory of the existence of a separate Moldovan ethnicity. Even if some of his interpretations could have been construed as a tendency to minimize the role that the Slavs played in the history of the region, Hîncu only wanted to make room for Daco-Romans or Vlachs *along* the Slavs, not to replace the latter with the former. The Slavic tribes continued to hold a very important place in his version of the medieval history of Moldova. In addition, it could be argued his views offered a very strong potential of ideological support to the regime. Applying certain retouching to Hîncu's version of history of medieval Moldova (for example by eliminating his idea

to the archaeological field in the capital of Moldova. Nicoale Chetraru, interview by Iurie Stamati, 2010, audio.

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that the medieval Russians were organized in a "fairly closed" society) his version could support the Soviet myth of friendship between Moldovans, Russians, and Ukrainians. In that sense, the open hearths and stone ovens found together in sunken-floored buildings, which Hîncu had taken as evidence of Slavo-Vlach "symbiosis," could be construed as an archaeological correlate of the long-standing Moldovan-Russian-Ukrainian friendship. Soviet propaganda could have certainly used his views to draw rather striking historical parallels. As noted, the Soviet historiography presented the Slavic tribes as a progressive force that had given the decisive blow to the Eastern Roman Empire, that bastion of slavery, a backward mode of production. By default, then the Slavic tribes entering the territory of the future Soviet Moldova could have been presented as "liberators" of the local population from the yoke of the Eastern Roman Empire, much like the Soviet army had "liberated that territory from the yoke of imperialist Romania."

There must have been another reason for Hîncu's point of view to be refuted with so much obduracy and for the ideological potential of that point of view to be so blindly ignored. I believe that that reason must be sought in the "competition struggle" for "the monopoly of scientific authority," to employ Bourdieu's phrases. Hîncu's point of view strongly contradicted the version of history promoted by his colleagues and former friends, questioned their scientific authority—a serious reason for them to abandon him. In addition, Hâncu's point of view also challenged the scientific authority of at least three people holding very important positions in Moldovan historiography, over which they had the "monopoly scientific authority." First and foremost was Nikolaĭ Mokhov, one of the most important representatives of Moldovan Soviet historiography, who was the main historian working on the Moldovan ethnogenesis since the late 1950s. According to Hîncu's memoirs, before an assembly at the Academy (perhaps the same one presided by Lazarev, about which Chetraru spoke), Mokhov asked Hîncu not to present his ideas about the indignity of the Moldovans, knowing very well that he had been scheduled to speak. Hîncu refused, and Mokhov promised to discredit him as a scholar by branding him a nationalist.[318] Archival documents and some publications confirm that he was in fact one of Hîncu's most adamant opponents.[319]

318 Hîncu, *Scara*, 58.

319 "Protokol zasedanii Istoriko-ekonomicheskoi sektsii pervoi nauchnoĭ konferentsii molodykh uchenykh Moldavii posviashchennoĭ 40-letiiu VLKSM ot 29 oktiabria 1958 g.," in *Protokol zasedaniia istoriko-ekonomicheskoi sessii i nauchnoĭ konferentsii molodykh uchenykh Moldavii.* (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 5, 1958); "Protokol № 10 zasedaniia Uchenogo Soveta Instituta istorii Akademii nauk MSSR ot 22 iunia 1965 g.," in *Protokoly zasedanii Uchenogo Soveta instituta za 1965 god.* (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 62, 1965); Mokhov

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The relationship with Georgiĭ Smirnov, who for over 20 years had been in charge of the archaeological sector and had fulfilled the tasks of Secretary of the Communist Party of the Academy of Sciences, was equally tense. Smirnov did not share Hîncu's ideas on the question of the appearance of Vlachs on the territory of the MSSR. In his memoirs, Hîncu recounted that in his candidate thesis he had mentioned an archaeological site that he had attributed to the Daco-Romans, a fact that profoundly displeased Smirnov. The latter tried to convince him to change his mind, but Hîncu refused, and Smirnov threatened to give his thesis a negative report.[320] It is worth mentioning that according to archival documents, it appears that archaeologist Smirnov and historian Mokhov were part of the same group of friends.[321]

Hîncu's view also cast doubt on the credibility or scientific authority of his former teacher Georgiĭ Fedorov. The latter disagreed with his former student's idea of Moldovan indignity, as well as with his ethnic interpretation of the Balkan-Danubian culture.[322] As I will show below, some pieces of evidence seem to suggest that Fedorov was one of the main instigators of a letter that denounced Hîncu as a nationalist.

4.7 *The Dismissal*

The policy of "national cadres" introduced by Boris Vizer, the director of the Institute of History, and supported by the vice-president of the Academy Artiom Lazarev could not fail to produce dissatisfaction. Their support for Hîncu, who questioned the scientific position of Mokhov, Smirnov, and Fedorov, could not be left without an answered. Moreover, it seems that Vizer was running his Institute with an iron fist. According to Hîncu, the changes Vizer made were "too radical and sudden," and his behavior towards his subordinates often lacked tact, and at times he even "insult[ed] people, even his followers." Such an attitude could not have played in favor of the "autochthonist" group. According to Hîncu, it was in that context that several disgruntled people gathered around Mokhov and Pavel Sovetov, the head of the sector of medieval history of the Institute of History. Among them were Hîncu's colleagues Bîrnea, Rafalovich, and Cebotarenco.[323] The former two deserted the archaeological

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and al., "Itogi," 9; "Kharakteristika na zaveduiushchego sektorom arkheologii i drevneĭ istorii Moldavii Akademii nauk MSSR Khynku Ivana Georgievicha," in *Lichnoe delo starshego nauchnogo sotrudnika Khynku Ivana Georgievicha.* (AAȘRM. Fond 24. Opis' 3. Nr. 42, 1973–1990); Mokhov, *Ocherki istorii formirovaniia,* 59.

320 Hîncu, *Scara,* 55.

321 "Protokol № 15 Zasedaniia Prezidiuma Moldavskogo Filiala AN SSSR ot 5 oktiabria 1951 g."

322 Fedorov and Negrusha, "Slaviane," 52–55.

323 Hîncu, *Scara,* 57.

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sector to join the ethnography sector. According to Vizer, he had to dismiss Cebotarenco because of financial irregularities.[324]

Vizer proposed the post of head of the archaeological sector to Hîncu, allegedly to set things in order, since "there were always intrigues [in that sector], financial irregularities, reports of excavations were not delivered in time, some artefacts have disappeared, and the ethanol that was to be used for disinfection was instead drunk."[325] The archival documents suggest that Hîncu had actually tried to bring order to his sector and Vizer was happy with his performance. During a meeting of the archaeological sector that took place in 1976, he noted with satisfaction that "the recording and storage of discoveries on a scientific basis" had finally been set up. Vizer also noted the substantial progress in "discipline, one of the most difficult problems to improve in the sector for a decade."[326]

Vizer did appoint Hîncu to that position not only to put things in order, but he also definitely wanted to redirect research to the study of the Moldovan ethnogenesis. At the same 1976 meeting, he congratulated Hîncu for having done exactly that. According to Vizer, "the goal [of archaeologists] is not simply to study the Slavic problem, but to see where, when, and how the Slavo-Roman [Slavo-Daco-Roman] synthesis has taken place."[327] Hîncu also insisted that

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324 Until Vizer and Hîncu's dismissal, Cebotarenco worked in the Archaeological Section of the Northwestern Black Sea Region, located in Odessa, which part of the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Science of Ukraine. He was also employed at the State Museum of History and Ethnography of Chişinău. Boris Vizer, interview by Iurie Stamati 2010, audio; Stamati, "In Memoriam Gheorghe Cebotarenco," 234.

325 Boris Vizer, interview by Iurie Stamati 2010, audio.

326 "Protokol № 24 zasedaniia sektora arkheologii i drevneĭ istorii Moldavii Instituta istorii AN MSSR ot 18 noiabria 1977 g.," in *Otdel ėtnografii i iskustvovedeniia, Protokoly zasedanii istorii Instituta istorii AN MSSR, 1977.* (AAȘRM. Fond 24, Opis' 1, Nr. 3, 1977); "Protokol № 6 zasedaniia sektora arkheologii i drevneĭ istorii Instituta istorii AN MSSR ot 10 fevralia 1976 goda," in *Protokoly zasedanii otdela arkheologii za 1976 g.* (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 141, 1976); "Protokol № 10 zasedaniia sektora i drevneĭ istorii Instituta istorii AN MSSR ot 2 marta 1976 goda," in *Protokoly zasedanii otdela arkheologii za 1976 g.* (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 141, 1976); "Protokol № 14 zasedaniia sektora i drevneĭ istorii Instituta istorii AN MSSR ot 30 marta 1976 goda," in *Protokoly zasedanii otdela arkheologii za 1976 g.* (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 141, 1976); "Protokol № 3 zasedaniia sektora i drevneĭ istorii Instituta istorii AN MSSR ot 10 fevralia 1977 goda," in *Otdel ėtnografii i iskustvovedeniia, Protokoly zasedanii istorii Instituta istorii AN MSSR, 1977.* (AAȘRM. Fond 24, Opis' 1, Nr. 3, 1977); "Protokol № 13 zasedaniia sektora i drevneĭ istorii Instituta istorii AN MSSR ot 28 aprelia 1977 goda," in *Otdel ėtnografii i iskustvovedeniia, Protokoly zasedanii istorii Instituta istorii AN MSSR, 1977.* (AAȘRM. Fond 24, Opis' 1, Nr. 3, 1977).

327 "Protokol № 24 zasedaniia sektora arkheologii i drevneĭ istorii Moldavii Instituta istorii AN MSSR ot 18 noiabria 1977 g."

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his subordinates "propose more current topics of study."[328] Such topics could have been only those related to the issue of the Moldovan ethnogenesis, about which Hîncu was very clear. As noted previously, in his opinion, all forces in the sector had to be employed now for the study of that question. According to some, Hîncu was also an authoritarian leader who did not hesitate to ask his colleagues to choose between supporting his point of view and resigning.[329] According to others, quite the contrary was true.[330]

At any rate, his Institute colleagues most certainly saw him as Vizer's (and Lazarev's) devotee and associated him with that way of doing things; I have no evidence that at the time Hîncu made any attempt to contradict, or even correct that perception. On the contrary, he seems to have approved and perhaps even participated, at least tacitly, in his superior "way of doing things." There is some proof of that in his own memoirs:

> Rafalovich, a very intelligent mind, wanted to study only the problem of the Slavs [...] It was explained [to him] that we, the archaeologists of Moldova, are interested only in studying the role of the Slavs in the fate of the indigenous population and their actual contribution to the genesis of [Moldovans]. However, Rafalovich did not want to study that problem [...] After being insistently asked [!] to [look at it], he decided to study the archaeological aspect of the formation of the culture of the Vlachs, but by noting the difficulty of the task, he chose to transfer himself to the ethnographic sector.[331]

According to Hîncu, the group of disgruntled archaeologists did their best to convince the academic bureaucracy in Moscow, especially Boris Rybakov, that there was a group of nationalists within the Academy of Sciences of the MSSR, which had to be unmasked.[332] At first, the dissenters did not have much success, because Lazarev had the support of the president of the Academy of Sciences of the MSSR, the historian Iakim Grosu. But Grosu died in the autumn of 1976, to be replaced by a biologist, Aleksandr Zhuchenko. Lazarev had probably hoped that he would succeed Grosu in that position. He may have been promised that by Brezhnev, who could have suggested something in that sense

328 "Protokol № 15 zasedaniia sektora i drevneĭ istorii Instituta istorii AN MSSR ot 6 aprelia 1976 goda," in *Protokoly zasedanii otdela arkheologii za 1976 g.* (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 141, 1976).

329 Polevoĭ, "Kuda"; Tkachuk, "Spor ili igra".

330 Demir Dragnev, interview by Iurie Stamati, 2010, audio; Paraska, "Monopol," 123–126.

331 Hîncu, *Scara*, 59.

332 Hîncu, *Scara*, 58–59.

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during their meeting in Kishinev. However, according to some, Zhuchenko got the position with Brezhnev's support, as he was in very good relations with the latter's mother, with whom he had worked in the early 1950s as the first secretary of the Moldovan Communist Party.[333] It is therefore quite possible that Zhuchenko had Brezhnev's direct support, but it is also likely that Lazarev's activities had meanwhile been perceived as too nationalist. Lazarev was the only member of the Academy who openly showed dissatisfaction with Zhuchenko's appointment. In protest, he left his own position of Vice President and retired.[334]

That was the context in which a committee with Mokhov as main investigator was put in place to scrutinize Vizer and Hîncu's activities. Apparently, KGB conducted its own investigation. Finally, Vizer and Hîncu were removed from their positions after being branded nationalists. Hîncu was removed from archaeological research altogether. He no longer had the right to conduct excavations. His last monograph, which was ready for print, was revoked.[335] He was transferred to the section of Historical Monuments and Culture, which worked in the Ethnography and Art sector, where he had the task of preparing a directory of archaeological sites for the Heritage Law of the MSSR. Hîncu was very active in the preservation of archaeological and architectural heritage sites, offered courses, and held public lectures. He also participated in radio and TV shows and published several articles and notes on those topics. In the early 1980s, although sometimes criticized for his slow work on his doctoral dissertation or for errors in editing a volume on the heritage sites of the MSSR, he was nonetheless recognized for his professional merits and decorated with the medal "veteran of work."[336] In his memoirs, Hîncu reports that immediately after his dismissal, and before his transfer to the new job, he was summoned by Zhuchenko to his office. Valentin Zelenchuk, the head of Ethnography and Art, was also in attendance. Zhuchenko told Hâncu not to leave the Academy because,

> I am informed that you are an honest and hard-working man. What has happened remains in history. […] It will be harder for a year or two, until it will all be forgotten. I know you have edited a monograph and you have prepared another. Now let it rest for a while, then in a year or two you will take it, you will go to Moscow, and you will defend your doctorate. I give

333 Demir Dragnev, interview by Iurie Stamati, 2010, audio.

334 Hîncu, *Scara*, 58; Levit, "Slovo," 19.

335 Postică, ed., *Ion Hâncu*, 8; Hîncu, *Scara*, 61–62.

336 Hîncu, *Scara*, 60–62; "Kharakteristika na starshego nauchnogo sotrudnika sektora po izucheniiu pamiatnikov istorii i kul'tury Otdela ėtnografii i iskusstvovedeniia AN MSSR Khynku I.G. za period raboty v 1981–1985 gg.," in *Lichnoe delo starshego nauchnogo sotrudnika Khynku Ivana Georgievicha.* (AAȘRM. Fond 24. Opis' 3. Nr. 42, 1973–1990).

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> orders to Valentin Stepanovich [Zelenchuk], here, in front of you, to support and protect you.[337]

In my opinion, the initiative for such a benevolent attitude towards Hîncu was not Zhuchenko's. The new president of the Academy was advised to do so. The years 1960–1970 witnessed several manifestations of pro-Romanian nationalism in the MSSR. All those events ended relatively quickly. As noted, some representatives of that movement were tried and then deported away from the MSSR, others were stripped of their positions, or declared mentally ill. Some were even expelled from the USSR, or simply allowed to leave the country. But the struggle of the Soviet state against those manifestations took place without great fuss and public trials. The Soviet state no longer wanted to make martyrs, especially famous martyrs, and to fuel by such means the "capitalist propaganda" mill. In my opinion, that is sufficient explanation for explains Zhuchenko's attitude towards Hîncu. In this respect, the testimony of Hîncu's former student, Gheorghe Postică, is interesting. According to him, the KGB agents who were commissioned to investigate the case of his former teacher quickly quit their mission by claiming that his file had nothing to do with state security, and that the entire affair an internal, academic problem, to be solved within the Academy, without their interference.[338]

Hîncu was not able to return to his favorite subject until the late 1980s, in the context of the Gorbachev's Perestroika, which in the RSSM gave way to a Moldovan nationalist movement that soon became a philo-Romanian. Together with his former student Gheorghe Postică,[339] Hîncu criticized the Soviet historiography and archaeology, especially its representatives Georgiĭ Fedorov, Gheorghe Cebotarenco, Pavel Bîrnea, Lazar' Polevoĭ, Isak Rafalovich, Nikolaĭ Mokhov, and Pavel Sovetov, and accused them of "falsifying the ancient history" of Moldova. It was Hîncu and Postică who put forward the idea that Fedorov's ethnic interpretations had been based solely on "potsherds collected from the surface of the soil."[340] Hîncu's publications published at that time and

337 Hîncu, *Scara*, 60–61.

338 Gheorghe Postică, pers.comm. 1996.

339 After the dismissal of Ion Hîncu as the head of the archaeological section in 1977, and his removal from archaeological research, Gheorghe Postică tried for a while to resuscitate the study of the Moldovan ethnogenesis. In 1979, he reopened a site from which his former teacher would have obtained or hoped to obtain arguments in support of his idea of Moldovan indigeneity. But in 1981, Pavel Bîrnea and Valentin Zelencuk, the head of the Ethnology and Art Sector, of which the archaeology section had been apart since 1977, banned the excavations. Gheorghe Postică. e-mail message to author, October 29, 30, 2014.

340 Hîncu and Postică, "Despre greșeli," 6; Ion Hîncu, "Stereotipur' ynvekite," *Ynvetsemyntul publik*, September 14, 1988; Hîncu, "Apariția," 24–29; Postică, *Românii din codrii*; Postică, "Civilizația medievală timpurie din spațiul pruto-nistrean pe calea," 18–23.

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until his death in 2003, were largely works of vulgarization, a genre to which he declared his commitment.[341]

4.8 *Fedorov's Involvement in Hîncu's Dismissal*

Two authors wrote about Fedorov's role in Hîncu's dismissal. The first was Hîncu himself, the second, Gheorghe Postică, his former student. In his memoirs, Hîncu described his former professor as a researcher who was only interested in the problem of the Slavs and interpreted most medieval remains found on the territory of the MSSR, especially those from the sixth to the thirteenth centuries, as Slavic. In his memoirs, Hîncu also wrote about his conflict with his former teacher that took place at some point in the early 1960s. This conflict was related to the preparation of the history synthesis of the MSSR, which was published in 1965. According to Hîncu, Fedorov, who was a member of the editorial board, was unhappy that his former student had been given the task of writing the chapter on the sixth to the eleventh centuries, for he wanted that for himself. The result was that Fedorov disliked it for minimizing the role of the Slavic tribes in the history of the MSSR, and accused Hîncu of nationalism.[342]

Hîncu also noted that his former teacher was, alongside Mokhov, Sovetov, Bîrnea, and Rafalovich, the author of a letter in which Hîncu was denounced as nationalist for having excluded the Slavic problem from the study projects of the archaeological sector and for replacing it with the "national problem." The letter in question was presented to the director of the Moscow Institute of Archaeology, Boris Rybakov, who added his own signature and then sent it to the Academy of Sciences of the MSSR.[343]

Gheorghe Postică offers two important, additional details about the affair. According to him, the main author of the letter was Fedorov. Moreover, the letter was sent not only to the Academy, but also to the KGB. Gheorghe Postică claims to have that information from his former colleague at State University in Kishinev, Vera Negruşa, who in the mid-1970s was doing her doctorate in Moscow with Fedorov, and was often Fedorov's personal secretary. It was to her that Fedorov dictated the letter in question, in his own house in the suburbs of Moscow.[344]

341 Hîncu, *Scara*, 62.

342 Hîncu, *Scara*, 56.

343 Hîncu, *Scara*, 58–59.

344 According to Gheorghe Postică, the signatures on that letter were those of Fedorov, Bîrnea, and Rafalovich, as well as of Mokhov, Sovetov, and Zelenchuk. Gheorghe Postică, pers.comm. 2010; Postică, "Periplul," 71; Gh. Postică, "Ion Hâncu la vârsta împlinirilor," in *Ion Hâncu. Bibliografie la 70 ani*, ed. by Gh. Postică (Kishinev: ULIM, 2002), 8.

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In my view, Fedorov's participation in writing that letter is quite plausible. When Hîncu was the leader of the archaeological sector, Fedorov was already far from the research in the MSSR and those who informed him of the events in the republic must have been Mokhov, Sovetov, Rafalovich and Bîrnea. As they were themselves unhappy with Hîncu, they probably presented his activity and his protectors in very negative and dramatic colors, which must have impressed Fedorov. On the other hand, Fedorov was most likely quite ready to believe his informants. As noted, in the first half of the 1960s Fedorov had already expressed concern about Hîncu's treatment of the Slavic problem, and, according to Hîncu's testimony, had accused him of minimizing the role of Slavs in the history of the MSSR. This, apparently, was not the only time when Fedorov expressed such concerns. A letter that dated Evgeniĭ Rusev, the director of the Institute of History, sent to Iakim Grosul, the president of the Academy of Sciences on February 26, 1970, seems to substantiate that interpretation:

> In your address to the General Assembly of the Department of Social Sciences of the AS [Academy of Sciences] of the MSSR, criticism has been made of historians [including archaeologists] about an alleged decrease in archaeological research of Slavic sites on the territory of contemporary Moldova [meaning MSSR].
>
> This is an obvious misunderstanding and you were deliberately misled.
>
> In the MSSR, excavations of Slavic sites have been and continue to be carried out on a large scale, as demonstrated in the attached annex written by the head of the Archaeological Sector G [eorgii] D [mitrievich] Smirnov from archaeological reports on the field studies we carried out in the post-war years.
>
> We understand very well the scientific importance and political relevance of the Slavic question for our territory, and, in that sense, we believe that the annexed material constitutes irrefutable proof.
>
> As for Fedorov, he has always benefited from our financial support. [...].
>
> I believe this misunderstanding will be eliminated.[345]

In my opinion, the manner and context in which Fedorov's name was mentioned in this letter suggest that the one who "deliberately misled" the president

345 "26 fevralia 70, Prezidentu AN MSSR akademiku Ia.S. Grosulu," in *Sviaz' i koordinatsiia s nauchnymi respublikanskimi uchrezhdeniiami o nauchno-issledovatel'skoĭ raboty vnutri SSSR i za rubezhom, 1970*. (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 101, 1970).

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of the Academy was actually Fedorov. Such a conclusion is confirmed by the examination of the letter's annex. In that text, Smirnov confirmed that Moldovan archaeologists were aware of the political importance of the Slavic problem, while emphasizing the efforts put in place for its study. After reviewing the "tens of thousands of square meters" excavated and "huge archaeological material" discovered, Smirnov noted that, "Fedorov, without the agreement of the [archaeological] sector and the leadership of the Institute [of History] has begun the study of Slavic sites of the Balkan-Danubian culture." Despite his attitude, he continued to enjoy the support of the Moldovan research institutions. Smirnov also noted that "Fedorov's abandonment [of the problematic Eastern Slavs] did not influence the course of research on [East] Slavic sites. The archaeological sector focused its efforts on the study of the late Slavs, a very hot issue from a political and historical point of view."[346] These statements, which obviously bore a note of reproach to Fedorov's attitude, were an attempt to "pass the buck," which confirms the idea that Fedorov had denounced the presumed decline in the study of the Slavs.

The conflict between Fedorov and Hîncu may have involved more than just scholarly disagreements. It's possible that Hîncu's remarks about foreigners controlling Moldovan archaeology had reached Fedorov's ears, when he was still working in the MSSR. If so, he must have been quite upset. Moreover, according to Cebotarenco, Fedorov had an argument in the 1960s with Lazarev, the future protector of Hîncu. Lazarev, who until then had been in good relations with Fedorov, also made some disparaging remarks about Jews. Because of those words the two men parted ways.[347]

In my view, therefore, Fedorov's participation in the writing of Hîncu's denunciation letter is plausible, even with him as the leading author.[348] However, that the letter in question was sent to the KGB as well needs further confirmation. It is very difficult to imagine that Fedorov, who sympathized with the dissident movement, welcomed into his house and in his Moldovan expeditions

346 "Spravka ob arkheologicheskikh issledovaniiakh slavianskikh pamiatnikov sektorom arkheologii Instituta istorii AN MSSR za 1946–1969 gg.," in *Sviaz' i koordinatsiia s nauchnymi respublikanskimi uchrezhdeniiami o nauchno-issledovatel'skoĭ raboty vnutri SSSR i za rubezhom, 1970.* (AAȘRM. Fond 18, Opis' 1, Nr. 101, 1970).

347 Gheorghe Cebotarenko, interview by Iurie Stamati 2003, audio.

348 Postică noted that Fedorov was dissatisfied with his former student, because, as chief of the archaeology sector, Hîncu had asked his subordinates and archaeologists from other republics, who had carried out excavations on the territory of the MSSR, to submit the excavation reports and the collections of artifacts on time. According to Postică, Fedorov took it personally, as he had been late in submitting the reports and the artefacts of excavations going back to the 50s and 60s, and had kept materials from those excavations at his home. Postică, "Periplul," 69.

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several outcasts of the Soviet state, and was himself often harassed by the KGB, would send a letter of denunciation to that institution. Such a gesture would imply that Fedorov collaborated with the KGB, an institution that the Soviet dissident that he supported feared, hated, and despised. Under no circumstances would have those people accept collaboration with the KGB. Unfortunately, I have been unable to find the original letter or interview Vera Negruşa, who has abandoned the archaeological career and lived at some point in Moscow. A definitive answer on Fedorov's participation in the dismissal of his former student and his alleged "collaboration" with the KGB is therefore not possible at this moment, without access to the letter and to Hîncu and Fedorov's KGB files.

Conclusions

In the first part of this chapter, I have provided an overview of Romanian archaeology after the Second World War. I have analyzed the interest in and the evolution of the Slavic problem by insisting on archaeologists' opinions concerning the presence of the Slavs and of "proto-Romanians" on the territory of historical Moldavia. I have shown that after the establishment of the pro-Soviet regime in Romania, archaeologists were given the task of legitimizing the regime. The centralization of archaeology and the planning of excavations throughout the country were the results of that policy. This academic discipline was so important to the regime that, while waiting for the formation of the new specialists, archaeologists from the "capitalist era" were reactivated. Their training in a strong anti-Soviet and nationalist environment made them less enthusiastic about the demands of the new regime. This is one of the reasons for which Marxization and Marrisation of Romanian archaeology failed. It is also the main reason for which, despite the insistence of the main leader of Romanian historiography of the time, the historian and propagandist Mihail Roller, the study of the Slavic problem was slow to develop.

From the mid-1950s, Romanian historiography gradually returned to the nationalist discourse. Even if the Slavic problem found its researchers, it became less and less fashionable. In the 1970s and 1980s, the tendency to minimize the participation of Slavic tribes in the history of Romanians and of their territory, a trend encouraged by the Party, became a crucial of the Romanian archaeological discourse. In that context, archaeologists insisted that in Romanian Moldova, as well as in Soviet Moldova, and Northern Bukovina, the proto-Romanians, and not the Slavs were the native population. Upon arriving in those regions in the sixth century, the Slavs were quickly assimilated by proto-Romanians. The trend setter was Ion Nestor, an archaeologist of the

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older generation that had begun his career before the pro-Soviet regime had come to power. Most young archaeologists followed him. Maria Comşa, who did her doctoral studies in Moscow, was a notable exception. I have shown that in certain points her position on the Slavic problem was close to that of the Soviet historiography. But I have also noted that this did not make her compliant to Soviet demands for Romanian archaeology. Many of her opinions were quite different from those of Soviet archaeologists. Moreover, she even influenced some Soviet archaeologists in some respects.

The second part focused on relations between Romanian and Moldovan archaeologists. The most intense exchanges between them took place in the years 1956–1958. Contrary to the expectations of the Soviet ideological institutions, it was the Soviet archaeologists who were influenced by Romanian archaeologists, and not the other way around. Although relations declined during the following decades mostly because of tensions between the USSR and Romania, the circulation of information, exchange of articles, books, or letters, and visits never stopped.

In the third part, I have analyzed the main trends in the treatment from the 1960s to the 1980s of the Slavic problem and the question of the arrival of the Vlachs on the territory of the MSSR. Emphasis was placed on the opinions expressed by Ion Hîncu's colleagues. The archaeologists of the MSSR had to face a utilitarian approach to the history of their republic. Insisting that Slavic tribes had come much earlier to Moldova than the Romance-speaking population, and have persisted throughout the medieval period, was a response to the Romanian historiography, which persevered in its efforts to evacuate those peoples from the history of Romania, and even the MSSR, and Northern Bukovina, thus suggesting Romanian rights to these territories. However, the positions of Moldovan archaeologists cannot be fully explained in terms of the ideological struggle between the Soviet and the Romanian historiography. The personal relationships between archaeologists, as well as the methodology they employed were also important factor.

Ion Hîncu's position was analyzed in the last part. At the beginning of his career, Hîncu already dissociated himself from his former teacher and his comrades by showing an increased interest in the problem of the genesis of the Moldovans and their material culture. Hîncu's goal, which he pursued tenaciously throughout his entire career, was to demonstrate that the Moldovan ethnogenesis took place entirely on the territory of the MSSR. However, because of the censorship, in his publications, he could not expose his idea in a clear and direct way. He was influenced by the Romanian researcher Maria Comşa. Hîncu's belief in the relevance of so-called "ethnic indicators" could

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partly explain his position on Moldovan autochthony. This also explains why he questioned the Slavic attribution of certain sites, which attracted criticism, as he was perceived as minimized the role of the Slavs in the history of the MSSR, and even accusations of nationalism. Although Hîncu never manifested himself as a fervent nationalist, he was among Moldovans who were upset about the cadre's policy and what they saw as the Russification of the MSSR. This fact marked his scholarly activity, determining in particular his perseverance in demonstrating the indigeneity of the Moldovans. His adherence to the national paradigm was therefore at the origin of his obsession with that problem. Although he was supported by a few academic *nomenklaturists*, namely the director of the Institute of History, Boris Vizer, and the vice-president of the Academy of Sciences of the MSSR, Artiom Lazarev, his willingness to demonstrate that the Moldovans were native to the MSSR was not a function of any directive he may have received from them. That idea was in Hîncu's head, well before these two *nomenklaturists* took him under their protection.

However, most of his colleagues did not support the idea. The fact that he failed to convince them of the relevance of his point of view could be an explanation for that. However, that was most likely not the main reason. The personal history of some of his colleagues, especially his formerly best friends Pavel Bîrnea and Gheorghe Cebotarenco, could also explain why they abandoned him. The fact that Hîncu's view cast doubt on their scientific credibility was another reason. In fact, Hîncu's point of view had no chance of being accepted, although it had a strong ideological potential, and he had access to information that could give his point of view a certain credibility, at least as a working hypothesis. The main explanation for Hîncu's demise, however, is the "competition struggle," which, according to Pierre Bourdieu, takes place within the "scientific field" (historiography, in this case). The main goal of that struggle is to establish "the monopoly of scientific authority." However, as noted, Hîncu not only questioned the credibility or scientific authority of his colleagues, but also the authority of at least three people who had very important positions in the academic world of Moldova—the historian Nikolaï Mokhov (the main specialist in the Moldovan ethnogenesis), the archaeologist Georgiĭ Smirnov (for about 20 years was the head of the archaeological sector), and the archaeologist Georgiĭ Fedorov (Hîncu's former professor). This played a very important role in the dismissal of Hîncu from the head of the archaeological section, as well as his removal from archaeological research altogether.

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CONCLUSIONS

The Slavic Dossier, Medieval Archaeology in the Soviet Republic of Moldova between State Propaganda and Scholarly Endeavor

The purpose of this book was to explain the circumstances that have led to the appearance in Moldovan Soviet archaeology of two different discourses *on the place of the ancient Slavs in the history of the territory of the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic, and the role they played in the genesis of Moldovans and their culture*. The first discourse reserves for the Slavs a leading role. According to such views, the Slavs were the main population that inhabited the territory of the MSSR, especially in the Middle Ages. Their cohabitation and fusion with the neo-Latin Vlachs, which entered the territory of the MSSR in the thirteenth or the fourteenth century, gave birth to the Moldovan ethnic group and its culture. The protagonist of second discourse, the archaeologist Ion Hîncu, while accepting the idea that the Slavs had participated in the genesis of the Moldovans and of their culture, tride to accredit the idea according to which the Slavs were not the main ethnic group inhabiting the territory of the MSSR during the Middle Ages. According to Hîncu, since their establishment on that territory in the fifth or sixth century, the Slavs had coexisted with other ethnic groups, among which the Vlachs were the most important. According to Hîncu, those Vlachs did not come to that territory from anywhere else; they were natives to it.

To achieve the goal set for this book, I have enquired about the socio-political and cultural contexts in which the two discourses appeared, the history of Moldovan archaeology, the personal profiles of the archaeologists involved, their formation, their theoretical and ideological attachment, and their relationships and interactions between them inside and outside their field. For the reconstruction of the socio-political and cultural contexts, I have resorted to the analysis carried out by political scientists, historians, and sociologists. For the rest of our work, I have used publications, written sources, and oral testimonies pertaining to Moldovan archaeologists and historians, but also archival documents.

My analysis has been structured in three chapters. The first analyzed the process of institutionalization of Moldovan archaeology, its main features, as well as the theoretical directions that guided archaeologists who studied the Slavic problem. The birth of Moldovan archaeology dates back to the Second World War. It was in 1946 that the main archaeological institution of the MSSR

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was created—the archaeological section of the Moldovan Institute of History, Economy, Language and Literature. Subsequently, the Moldovan archaeology was subordinated to the Moscow Archaeological Institute. The Russian appearance of Moldovan archaeology was explained by the major role that archaeologists from Russian and Ukrainian research centers had in its institutionalization. Russian was the main language in which local archaeologists studied, which also explains the phenomenon. The weak attachment of most local archaeologists to a pro-Moldovan national ideology was also invoked to explain that feature of the Moldovan Soviet archaeology. The "retrospective method," with the so-called "ethnic indicators," but also the use of analogies guided the study of the Slavic problem in the MSSR. Neither Moldovan archaeologists nor other Soviet archaeologists conducting research in MSSR ever developed or used a Marxist or Marxist-inspired methodology. The search for Slavic remains in the MSSR began after the Second World War. The need to justify the presence of that territory within Soviet borders inspired much of that research. But political utility was not the only reason. The existence of sources which suggested that that territory or some of its parts had been inhabited by the ancient Slavs also led to the development of such studies. However, until the early 1950s, Slavic archaeology in the MSSR remained under-developed, largely because of the economic difficulty that the Soviet state faced after the war, but also because of the absence of the Slavic archaeologists interested in working in the MSSR. Even Georgiĭ Smirnov, the first head of the archaeological section of the Moldovan Institute of History, Economics, Language and Literature, paid attention to the Slavic problem as a strategy to privilege the study of the Scythians and Sarmatians, his own specialty.

In the second chapter, I examined the activity and position of one of the main protagonists of the first discourse, the Moscow-based archaeologist Georgiĭ Fedorov. He trained the first generation of Moldovan medieval archaeologists, those involved in the study of the Slavs. Fedorov first came to the MSSR in 1950 with the goal of locating the tribes of the Tivertsy and Uliches, and became, for the next 25 years, the leading Soviet archaeologist to study the Slavic problem in that republic. In the intimacy of his home, Fedorov was known for his anti-Stalinist position and for his sympathies for the dissident movement. Despite that, his scholarly output does not have any signs of non-conformism. Fedorov's opinions on the main subjects of Slavic archaeology were in line with the pan-Slavic and Russian nationalist. His views on the location of Uliches and Tivertsy were an extension of the opinions of his former professor, Boris Rybakov, opinions regarded as the result of Rybakov's close adoption of the Russian nationalist ideology. Until 1954, when the Russian nationalist discourse was at its peak, Fedorov strove with great zeal to find the earliest possible date at

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which the ancient Slavs came to the territory of MSSR. In the process, he Slavicized a few archaeological cultures of the Antiquity. For example, he firmly believed that the second- to first-century Lipitsk culture, which he claimed to have discovered in the MSSR, was entirely Slavic, while the Ukrainian archaeologist Smishko argued that the Slavs were only among its bearers.

Similarly, Fedorov was one of those who in the early 1950s Slavicized the second- to the fifth-century Cherniakhov culture. As for the Tivertsy and the question of whether the territory of the MSSR was ever part of Kievan Rus, Fedorov followed the ideas presented in the first synthesis of the history of the RSSM, a book marked by Russo- and Slavophilia. Along with the official historiography, Fedorov maintained that the Slavs had been a progressive force in history that brought political, economic, and cultural benefits to the territory of the MSSR. His opinion about the genesis of Moldovans and of their culture was also aligned to the official propaganda, in that Moldovans owed their ethnic and cultural individuality to the participation of the Eastern Slavs in their ethnogenesis. Fedorov's conformism was a typical example of Soviet-era historiography. To him, as to many other Soviet historians and archaeologists, conformism was a strategy for professional, social, and economic survival. However, his conformism is not the only explanation. His belief in the "retrospective method" and the use of analogies, some written sources and archaeological "contexts," his position within the archaeological field, the low level of critical thinking, the pan-Slavist and Russian nationalist discourse that have influenced Fedorov at the beginning of his career (even though he was never a fervent follower of either one of those two ideologies)—all of that contributed to the configuration of his scholarly opinions. As noted, to say that Fedorov's historiographical views are "pure falsifications of the Moldovan archaeological reality" made for the sole purpose of justifying the presence of the territory of the MSSR within the borders of the USSR, is simply to ignore the reality in which the intellectual and archaeologist Fedorov lived, and with which he had to deal.

The last chapter was devoted to the second discourse. I began with an overview of Romanian archaeology after the Second World War, which is fundamental to the understanding of the Moldovan Soviet archaeological discourse of the 1960–1980s. Despite pressure from the ideologues of the pro-Soviet regime installed in Romania in 1947, the Slavic problem never really aroused the curiosity of Romanian archaeologists. I have explained that by means of the anti-Soviet sentiments of many of these archaeologists. Even if the Slavic problem finally stirred the interest of some researchers, from the mid-1950s it became less and less fashionable, because the Romanian historiography gradually returned to the nationalistic discourse of the decades before the

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establishment of the pro-Soviet regime in Bucharest. In the years 1970–1980, there was an increasing tendency to minimize the participation of the Slavic tribes in the history of Romanians and their territory, a tendency encouraged by the Communist Party, and quickly incorporated into the Romanian archaeological discourse. Romanian archaeologists insisted that in historical Moldavia the proto-Romanians, and not the Slavs were the native population, and that upon arriving in the region, the Slavs were quickly assimilated by proto-Romanians. Romanian and Soviet archaeologists started collaborations and exchanged information. However, contrary to the expectations of the Soviet authorities, Soviet archaeologists were influenced by their Romanian colleagues, and not the other way around. Between 1960 and 1980, archaeologists of the MSSR continued to face a utilitarian approach to the history of their republic. The attention paid to the exact moment at which the Slavs and the Vlach had appeared on the territory of the MSSR, and who, among the two, had a more persistent presence there throughout the Middle Ages, was a response to the Romanian historiography, which at that time insisted on erasing the Slavs from the history of Romanians and of their country, as well from that of the MSSR, and of Northern Bukovina. However, the official discourse of the archaeologists in the MSSR cannot be fully explained by the ideological struggle between the Soviet and Romanian historiographies. Some archaeologists actually believed in the persistence of the Slavs throughout the Middle Ages on the territory of the MSSR. Some of them also believed that there no credible arguments existed in support of an earlier date for the appearance of Vlachs in the region. The "retrospective" method as well as some written sources seemed to induce such an opinion. The nature of the relations and interactions between certain archaeologists and historians also played a significant role in the structuring of the Moldovan archaeological discourse. The thesis that Hîncu pursued tenaciously until he was removed from archaeological research was that Moldovans emerged as the result of a process of ethnogenesis which had taken place entirely within the territory of historical Moldavia. But, because of the censorship, in his publications, he could not expose this idea clearly and directly. Hîncu's belief in the relevance of "ethnic indicators" may partly explain his position on Moldovan indignity. This also explains why he questioned the Slavic attribution of certain archaeological sites, for which he was accused of downplaying the role of Slavs in the history of MSSR. Hîncu was never a fiery nationalist, but he was among the Moldovan intellectuals who opposed what they saw as the Russification of the MSSR. Although Hîncu was supported by two important *apparatchiks* from the MSSR Academy of Sciences, Artiom Lazarev and Boris Vizer, his willingness to demonstrate that the Moldovans were indigenous was not inspired by them, because he had developed the idea

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long before they took him under their protection. Despite the support of those two important members of the Academy of Sciences, and even though Hîncu's opinion had a great ideological potential, it could not be accepted as the official point of view of the Moldavian Soviet historiography. This was not just because Hîncu had failed to convince his peers, or because he was too close to the ideas found in the Romanian historiography. Hîncu's opinion had no chance of being accepted, because it cast doubt on the credibility of other medieval archaeologists who were advocates of the first discourse (the personal history of some of his colleagues also explains why they did not support him), but especially because it was an attempt on the authority or "scientific monopoly" of such important people of the Moldovan Soviet historiography as the historian Nikolaĭ Mokhov and the archaeologist Georgiĭ Smirnov. Hîncu's former teacher, Fedorov, was also in that situation, so he probably contributed to the dismissal of his former student from the position of head of the archaeological sector and to his removal from archaeological research.

According to the analysis presented in this book, the reasons behind the two archaeological discourses are much more complex than the authors before us have imagined. The first discourse was not the result of a simple accumulation of facts obtained in the context of an objective archaeological study. It is not only the result of the political instrumentalization of archaeological data or the dominance of a certain theoretical approach. Nor was the second discourse the result of a new political directive issued by the higher authorities of the Party. The archaeologist Ion Hîncu was most likely driven by the desire to establish what he saw as the truth about the ancient history of the MSSR, but my analysis has moved beyond that explanation.

The results of my analysis resonate with what Leo Klejn wrote about the "phenomenon of Soviet archaeology" and with what Bruce Trigger and Marc-Antoine Kaeser had to say about the archaeological production in general. Those remarks combined with the observations of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, have pushed the analysis beyond the obvious, that is to say the political or ideological context. That context definitely had a major importance in the shaping of two discourses, but on its own cannot reveal the complexity of the issues that contributed to the emergence of those discourses. At the same time, the two discourses also bear the imprint of their authors, that is, archaeologists, their personal stories, their relations, as well as the competition between them. I have not touched on the generational side which, very likely, could have brought a substantial nuance to the understanding of the production of two archaeological discourses. It should also be noted that in Moldova, apart from the Archives of the Academy of Sciences, there are also the National Archives and the Archives of the former Communist Party

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transformed in the early 1990s into the Archives of the socio-political organizations of Moldova. I have not been able so far to consult those archives, which have become ever more important to researchers. Equally inaccessible have remained the archival records of the former KGB in Moldova and Russia, which may be of great value for my study.

I have already mentioned briskly the archaeology of the Baltic republics, that of Ukraine and of North Caucasus, and it is important to return to that topic for a comparative approach. In the years 2004–2006, when the book began to take shape, I had access to only a small number of publications about the archaeologies of the former Soviet republics. Some of them dated back to the Soviet period. Although they contained a rich factual material related to the institutionalization of archaeology, and the priority research topics, their approach was hardly critical.[1] Obviously, the manuscripts of these publications also passed through the hand of the censor, which was why many of the statements they contained required a thorough check.

1 The main, if not the only purpose of those publications was to highlight the progress of archaeological science in the national peripheries after the establishment of the Soviet power. Words of gratitude were addressed to the Party, government, central academic institutions and their representatives, archaeologists who had come to those republics to help build archaeological science and create national cadres. Although it was recognized that bourgeois archaeologists had some success, their achievments were seen as inferior to those obtained during the Soviet period. Criticism of Soviet archaeology was not entirely missing. However, it was limited to noting delays in researching some micro-regions or subjects, or blaming the "negative influence" of the Marrist linguistic theory. Aleksandr N. Rogachev and al., "Dostizheniia arkheologicheskoĭ nauki v RSFSR," *Sovetskaia arkheologiia* 3 (1967): 9–46; Bibikov, "K 50-letiiu," 47–72; Smirnov and Polevoĭ, "Arkheologiia Moldavii," 73–81; Kharri A. Moora, "Osnovnye rezul'taty arkheologicheskikh issledovaniĭ v Sovetskoĭ Estonii," *Sovetskaia arkheologiia* 3 (1967): 82–90; Regina Volkaite-Kulikauskene, "Uspekhi arkheologicheskoĭ nauki v Litovskoi SSR," *Sovetskaia arkheologiia* 3 (1967): 91–105; Boris A. Litvinskiĭ, "Arkheologiia Tadzhikistana za gody sovetskoĭ vlasti," *Sovetskaia arkheologiia* 3 (1967): 106–123; Egen Atagarryev, Ovliakuli Berdyev, "Arkheologicheskoe izuchenie Turkmenistana za gody sovetskoĭ vlasti," *Sovetskaia arkheologiia* 3 (1967): 124–141; Andreĭ M. Apakidze, "Razvitie arkheologicheskoĭ nauki v Sovetskoĭ Gruzii," *Sovetskaia arkheologiia* 4 (1967): 5–25; Babken N. Arakelian and Anait A. Martirosian, "Arkheologicheskoe izuchenie Armenii za gody sovetskoĭ vlasti," *Sovetskaia arkheologiia* 4 (1967): 26–47; R.M. Vaidov and I.G. Narimov, "Razvitie arkheologicheskoĭ nauki v Sovetskom Azerbaidzhane," *Sovetskaia arkheologiia* 4 (1967): 48–61; Kemal' A. Akishev, "Arkheologiia v Kazakhstane za sovetskiĭ period," *Sovetskaia arkheologiia* 4 (1967): 62–78; Dmitriĭ F. Vinnik, "Piat'disiat let sovetskoĭ arkheologii v Kirgizii," *Sovetskaia arkheologiia* 4 (1967): 79–92; Abdullakhad R. Mukhamedzhanov, "Razvitie arkheologicheskoĭ nauki v Uzbekistane v gody sovetskoĭ vlasti," *Sovetskaia arkheologiia* 4 (1967): 93–102; Adolfs Ia. Stubavs, "Arkheologiia v sovetskoĭ Latvii (1945–1967 g.g.)," *Sovetskaia arkheologiia* 4 (1967): 103–122; Vladimir D. Bud'ko and Alekseĭ G. Mitrofanov, "Arkheologiia Belorussii za sovetskiĭ period," *Sovetskaia arkheologiia* 4 (1967): 123–145.

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Other works that were available to me appeared during the 1990s and early 2000s. However, their vast majority did not cover only the Soviet period, the relationship between the Soviet State and the archaeological research in the national periphery being just one of the subjects. This is the case of articles about Lithuanian archaeology from the nineteenth century to the end of the Soviet era.[2] The author of an incursion into the history of Estonian archaeological research followed a similar model analyzing its evolution from the nineteenth century and ending with the late 1980s.[3] So did the author of a monograph dedicated to Belarusian archaeology and local history, but this time the chronological segment began in the sixteenth century and ended in the 1930s.[4] In his monograph dedicated to the use of history in structuring the nationalist discourses in the southern region of the Caucasus, Viktor Shnirelman noted the contribution of archaeologists from the Soviet period, but the issue of the relationship between them and the Soviet state was not at the center of his attention.[5] Very little space was dedicated to this problem and, in general, to the history of Ukrainian archaeology, in an archaeology manual for students from the Ukrainian universities.[6] The authors of a handbook of archaeology for students a universities in Kazakhstan completely neglected the issue of the relationship between archaeology and the state policy of the Soviet period, although they offer a rather extensive retrospective of the research and institutionalization of the archaeology in Kazakhstan.[7]

Meanwhile, several other publications appeared that address various aspects of the past of archaeology in the former Soviet space—the Baltic countries, Ukraine, the Central Asian countries, the Russian Federation and its national peripheries such as the North Caucasus, the Far East, the Tatarstan Republics, Udmurtia, Altai. Many of these works dealt with the Soviet period

2 Puodžiūnas and Girininkas, "Nationalism doubly oppressed," 252–253; Romas Jarockis, "Lithuanian Archaeology in the Past and Present," *Archaeologia Baltica* 3 (1998): 37–41.

3 Valter Lang, "The History of Archaeological Research (up to the late 1980s)," *Estonian Archaeology* 1 (2006): 13–40.

4 Leonid V. Alekseev, *Arkheologiia i kraevedenie Belarusi, XVI v.–30-e gody XX v.* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 1996).

5 Viktor A. Shnirelman, *Voiny pamiati, Mify, identichnost' i politika v Zakavkaz'e* (Moscow: Akademikniga, 2003).

6 Mikola O. Chmikhov and al., *Arkheologiia ta starodavnia istoriia Ukraïni, kurs lektsii* (Kiev: Libid', 1992), 35–39.

7 Karl M. Baĭpakov and Zhaken K. Taĭmagambetov, *Arkheologiia Kazakhstana* (Almata: Kazak universiteti, 2006), 13–39.

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in the context of wider issues and chronologies. However, there are also works that focus strictly on the Soviet era.[8]

Some of the topics addressed by those studies are relevant to my own work: the institutionalization of archaeology, the evolution of the research of certain issues or archaeological cultures and sites, the history of theoretical archaeology, the nature of the relationship between the archaeological research and the nationalist ideology, the appearance of archaeological museums and their involvement in the archaeological research proper, the professional activity of individual archaeologists. Even though many of these publications noted the politicization of Soviet archaeology in general, and some changes or developments in archaeological research in the Soviet national peripheries were

8 Svetlana Gorshenina and Claude Rapin, "De l'archéologie russo-soviétique en situation colonial à l'archéologie postcoloniale en Asie centrale," *Les Nouvelles de l'archéologie* 126 (2011): 29–33; Evgeniĭ V. Krylov, "Sotsial'no-politicheskie faktory razvitiia tatarskoi arkheologicheskoĭ nauki v 1920–1930-e gody," *Vestnik Udmurskogo Universiteta* 3 (2011): 99–105; Dmitriĭ A. Mikhaĭlov, "Altaiskiĭ natsionalizm i arkheologiia," *Ėtnograficheskoe obozrenie* 1 (2013): 37–51; Shnirelman, "Arkheolog, obshchestvo," 47–72; Klejn, *Istoriia Rossiiskoi Arkheologii, ucheniia*, T. 2; Konstantin A. Rudenko, *Istoriia arkheologicheskogo izucheniia Volzhskoi Bylgarii, (X–nachalo XIII v.)* (Kazan: RTSMKO, 2014); Igor' L. Tikhonov, "Mnogo istorii odnoi nauki (o razlichnykh zhanrakh v istorii arkheologii)," *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta Arkheologii* 240 (2015): 302–317; Ol'ga M. Mel'nikova, "Istoriia arkheologii v Udmurtii v 1920-e gg.: issledovatel'skie praktiki i vlast'," *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta Arkheologii* 242 (2016): 221–231; Michael Lyubychev, "'A Number of Valuable Guidance Received by Researches who Studied Long Periods of History of Country'…: On the Ideological Conditions of Archaeology in Ukraine 1945–1991," in *Archaeology of the Communist Era, A Political History of Archaeology of the 20th Century*, ed. by Ludomir R. Lozny (Cham: Springer, 2017), 167–176. For the organization of archaeological museums in Soviet Ukraine and their involvement in archaeological research, see Anna Yanenko, "A Museum as a Research and Scientific centre for Archaeological Studies (Ukrainian Socialistic Soviet Republic Museums Experience in the 1920s–first half of 1930s)," *Acta Iniversitats Lodziensis, Folia Archaeologica* 31 (2016): 219–241; Anna Yanenko, "Muzeĭ Zakhidnoĭ Ukraïni i perspektivi arkheologichnikh doslidzhen' regionu v 1945–1946 rr. (za materialami arkhivu M. Rudins'kogo)," *Materiali i doslidzheniia z arkheologiĭ Prikarpattia i Volini* 17 (2013): 295–300. For the history of theoretical archaeology in Ukraine and Russia during the Soviet era, see Sergii Paliienko, "V.F. Gening i formirovanie Kievskogo tsentra teoreticheskoi arkheologii," *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta Arkheologii* 242 (2016): 232–244; Sergii Paliienko, "Listuvannia L.S. Kleina z Iu.M. Zakharukom ta V.F. Geningom iak dzherelo z istoriĭ Radians'koĭ teoretichnoĭ arkheologiĭ," *Materiali i doslidzheniia z arkheologiĭ Prikarpattia i Volini* 21 (2017): 148–158. For a list of PhD theses and papers published until 2011 dealing with different subjects pertaining to archaeology in the former Soviet Union, see Igor' L. Tikhonov, "« Istoriografiia » ili « istoriia nauki »? (o sovremennykh issledovaniiakh po istorii arkheologii)," in *Istoriia arkheologii: Lichnosti i shkoly, Materialy Mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoĭ konferentsii k 160-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia V.V. Khvoiki, Kiev, 5–8.10.2010*, ed., by Nadezhda I. Platonova (Saint Petersburg: Nestor-Istoriia, 2011), 41–54. For a short presentation of the main tendencies in the analysis of Soviet archaeology, including the Soviet era, see Klejn, *Istoriia Rossiiskoi arkheologii, ucheniia*, T. 1, 13–28.

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explained by changing political and ideological contexts, the issue of the relationship between archaeology and the Soviet state is far from being exhausted. It should also be said that many of those works are more descriptive than analytical. Their authors summarize events, and record dates and names of archaeologists. There is a tendency to depict Soviet archaeologists dichotomically—some are holy, others are demons.

Over the last few years, a few authors have advances an approach that is very close to the one in the present book. However, they do not seem to have been inspired, at least not explicitly, by the remarks Leo Klejn made in his *Phenomenon of Soviet Archaeology*. Irina Tunkina, a historian studying Russian archaeology, advanced the idea, in some of her publications, that one needed to analyze such factors as friendship networks, or the competition between archaeologists, and their mentality, besides the "historical context" in which archaeological knowledge has been produced. Tunkina's inspiration for such an analysis is in the anthropology or sociology of science.[9] It is also worth mentioning in this context the work of the Estonian archaeologist Ester Oras, whose research goal is to see "how political and social context, academic background, and personalities affect the creation and development of archaeological research." But her article proves too short for that purpose. The same applies to the Soviet era, to which the author dedicates no more than two pages.[10]

In any case, at the time of the last revision of our book's manuscript—June, 2018—I did not find published works, which analyzed Soviet archaeology (the activity of archaeological institutions from national peripheries as well as those from Moscow and Leningrad) from Tunkina and Oras' perspective except perhaps more recent studies by Leo Klejn.[11]

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9 Irina V. Tunkina, "Istoriia otechestvennoĭ arkheologii na sovremennom etape: antropologicheskii povorot," *Trudy Ob'edinennogo nauchnogo soveta po gumanitarnym problemam i istoriko-kul'turnomu naslediiu* 2009 (2010), 62–72; Irina V. Tunkina, "Sovremennye tendentsii izucheniia istorii otechestvennoĭ arkheologii v Rossii i na Ukraine," in *Istoriia arkheologii: Lichnosti i shkoly, Materialy Mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoĭ konferentsii k 160-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia V.V. Khvoiki, Kiev, 5–8.10.2010*, ed. by Nadezhda I. Platonova (Saint Petersburg: Nestor-Istoriia, 2011), 55–64.

10 Oras, "Contemporary Polities and Archaeology," 111–137.

11 One such example is the book which appeared in 2014. This book presents the biographies of selected Russian and Soviet archaeologists. The names were selected for various reasons, with the purpose to show the main stages, through which Russian and Soviet archaeological knowledge has gone, and its main analytical directions and theoretical schools of thought. In his book, Klejn deals with the sociopolitical and cultural contexts in which some research directions and schools emerged, and the archaeologists associated with them. Klejn's book also deals with their personalities, their theoretical and ideological predilections, and rivalries. This book can also be seen as an attempt to respond to the trend discussed above, because it deals with Soviet archaeologists

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Although in the last decades several studies about the archaeologies of other historiographical spaces that had to cope with direct and almost continuous pressures on the part of the state appeared—I refer first and foremost to the countries of the former Soviet bloc[12]—I am only familiar with very few works

dichotomically—heroes and villains. In that respect, Klejn's book is a disappointment, particularly in respect to Georgiĭ Fedorov, to whom the Klejn dedicates 22 pages of a chapter in which he analyzes the life stories of several nonconformist archaeologists of the Soviet era. At times, Klejn's analysis is quite subtle. As promised in the introduction of the book, he succeeds to treat Fedorov's work (as well as that of other archaeologists) in relation to the social, political, and cultural context of the time. He includes the rather disparaging remarks of the archaeologist Rabinovich about Fedorov (see the subchapter "The Conformity of the Non-conformist Fedorov" in this book). However, Fedorov's portrait is ultimately quite idealized. To Klejn, Fedorov was an objective researcher, at least in the field of Moldovan ethnogenesis. Ion Hâncu, on the other hand, was an obscene student who, driven by nationalism ("patriotism," in Klejn's terms), did everything in his power to remove his former professor from the Moldovan archaeological research when he himself rose to its leadership. Klejn, *Istoriia Rossiiskoi arkheologii, ucheniia*, T. 2, 511–532.

12 Studies on Polish archaeology seemed to be the most numerous. See for example, Paul M. Barford, "Paradigms lost: Polish archaeology and post-War politics," *Archaeologia Polona* 31 (1993): 257–70; Włodzimierz Rączkowski, "'Drang nach Westen'?: Polish archaeology and national identity," in *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe*, ed. by Margarita Díaz-Andreu, and Timothy C. Champion (Boulder/San Francisco: Westview Press, 1996), 189–217; Jacek Lech, "Between captivity and freedom: Polish archaeology in the 20th century." *Archaeologia Polona* 35–36 (1997–1998): 25–222; Jacek Lech, "On Polish archaeology in the 20th century: remarks and polemic." *Archaeologia Polona* 40 (2002): 185–252; Zbigniew Kobyliński, "Theoretical orientations in archaeology in Poland (1945–1995)," in *Theory and Practice of Archaeological Research*, ed. by Witold Hensel, Stanisław Tabaczyński, and Przemysław Urbańczyk (Warsaw: Scientia, 1998), 225–258; Danuta Piotrowska, "Biskupin 1933–1996: archaeology, politics and nationalism," *Archaeologia Polona* 35–36 (1998): 255–285; Sarunas Milisauskas, "Observations on Polish archaeology 1945–1995," *Archaeologia Polona* 35–36 (1997–1998): 223–236; Przemysław Urbańczyk, "Political circumstances reflected in post-war Polish archaeology," *Public Archaeology* 1 (2000): 49–56; Przemysław Urbańczyk, "Medieval archaeology in Polish historic-political discourse," in *Politik und Wissenschaft in der prähistorischen Archäologie. Perspektiven aus Sachsen, Böhmen und Schlesien*, ed. by Judith Schachtmann and al. (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2009), 237–249; Jerzy Gąssowski, "Archaeology and Marxism in Poland: A Personal Account," in *Archaeology of the Communist Era, A Political History of Archaeology of the 20th Century*, ed. by Ludomir R. Lozny (Cham: Springer, 2017), 101–121. For the archaeology of other formerly Communist states, see Curta, "The changing image," 235–276; Madgearu, "Cultura Dridu," 63–71; Douglass W. Bailey, "Bulgarian archaeology. Ideology, sociopolitics and the exotic," in *Archaeology Under Fire. Nationalism, politics and heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*, ed. by Lynn Meskell (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 87–110; Ludomir R. Lozny, "Sickle, Hammer, and Trowel: Theory and Practice of Archaeology Under Communism," in *Archaeology of the Communist Era, A Political History of Archaeology of the 20th Century*, ed. by Ludomir R. Lozny (Cham: Springer, 2017), 9–58; Lolita Nikolova and Diana Georgova, "Contemporary Bulgarian Archaeology as a Social Practice

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which attempted an analysis similar as the one in the present book.[13] For this reason, I hope that this book will inspire more investigations of a similar kind, starting from the cases of other academic centers in the region.

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in the Later Twentieth to Early Twenty-first Century," in *Archaeology of the Communist Era, A Political History of Archaeology of the 20th Century*, ed. by Ludomir R. Lozny (Cham: Springer, 2017), 177–193; László Bartosiewicz, "Archaeology in Hungary 1948–1989," in *Archaeology of the Communist Era, A Political History of Archaeology of the 20th Century*, ed. by Ludomir R. Lozny (Cham: Springer, 2017), 195–233; Jerzy Gąssowski, "Introduction to Archaeology of the Communist Era," in *Archaeology of the Communist Era, A Political History of Archaeology of the 20th Century*, ed. by Ludomir R. Lozny (Cham: Springer, 2017), 1–8.

13 Such is the case of a Romanian archaeologist, Mircea Angheliu, *The Evolution of Theoretical Thinking in Romanian Archaeology. Concepts and Models Applied to the Pre-Historical Period*, which also contains a substantial analysis of the period when Romania was part of the Soviet Block, and Romanian archaeology needed to comply with the Marxist discourse. Anghelinu, *Evoluția gândirii teoretice*, 155–245. Another notable example is Radu-Alexandru Dragoman and Sorin Oanță-Marghitu's study of archaeology in Communist Romania, which draws inspiration from Bourdieu's work. Radu-Alexandru Dragoman and Sorin Oanță-Marghitu, *Arheologie și politică în România* (Baia Mare: Eurotip, 2013).

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